

STENOGRAPHIC TRANSCRIPT

P U B L I C H E A R I N G

RE: MEDICAL CENTER URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT AREA

BOOK No. 1.

(Newark City Hall, Monday, June 12th, 1967)

WINARD & WINARD

24 COMMERCE STREET

NEWARK, N. J. 07102

STATE OF NEW JERSEY
COUNTY OF ESSEX
NEWARK CITY HALL

IN THE MATTER OF THE PUBLIC HEARING OF:

MEDICAL CENTER URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT AREA : JUNE 12, 1967

PROJECT N.J. R-196

MEMBERS OF THE PLANNING BOARD:

ALFRED C. BOOKER, Chairman

HARRY G. MC DOWELL, Director of Finance

JOSEPH A. COCUZZO

VINCENT CORRADO

FREDERICK W. FEDERICI

JOSEPH T. BRADLEY

MATTHEW D. ALESSIO

ALDO GIACCHINO,, Board Secretary

A P P E A R A N C E S :

AUGUSTIN KELLY, ESQ.,
Attorney for Newark Housing Authority

HOWARD A. RAPPAPORT
Certified Shorthand Reporter

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1 MR. BOOKER: This public hearing held by
2 the Central Planning Board, will now come to
3 order.

4 There being a quorum present, I will
5 ask the Secretary to call the roll.

6 (Roll call taken.)

7 MR. BOOKER: In order to conduct an orderly
8 meeting for giving everyone an opportunity to
9 speak, I want to level the following rules to
10 go in the conduct of this meeting.

11 Anyone who wants to speak will be heard
12 as long as the card of the individual is signed
13 with the name and address.

14 The meeting will begin with the introduction
15 of certain basic procedural evidence by the
16 counsel for the Newark Housing Authority and by
17 our Secretary. We will then hear from a number
18 of speakers representing the Newark Housing
19 Authority and various city departments who have
20 a direct knowledge of conditions in the area
21 of the clearing. These speakers will alternate
22 the microphone with representatives of the
23 objectors.

24 Speaking from the Housing Authority will
25 be Mr. Louis Danzig, Executive Director. Mr. Alfred

1 Walker, Director of Urban Renewal. Mr. Samuel
2 Lawrence, Director of Relocation.

3 Representatives of the City Departments
4 who will be speaking are, Dr. Pascal, the Health
5 Officer, who will also read a statement.
6 Dr. Weinberg, Director of the Newark City Hospital.
7 Also, John Calfield, Director of Fire and Department
8 Chief Anthony Barris of the Newark Police Depart-
9 ment. Mr. William Burke of the Division of
10 Inspections in the Department of Health and Welfare.

11 These speakers come out to a total of eight.
12 We would like the names of the eight speakers
13 representing the objectors submitted to the
14 Chair so that we can call the alternates to the
15 other eight speakers. After hearing these speakers,
16 the meeting will be open to anyone else who has
17 filled a card, indicating his intentions to speak.

18 There will be order, decorum and respect
19 for others while the hearing is going on. We
20 hope that everyone will cooperate.

21 At this time we will ask the Secretary
22 to read the definition of blight.

23 MR. WHEELER: Mr. Chairman, as per our
24 arrangement, I wish to be recognized.

25 MR. BOOKER: Yes.

1 MR. WHEELER: I wasn't sure whether I heard
2 whether that one or more was going to be the
3 order of business, part of the order of business.

4 MR. BOOKER: That is correct, eight speakers.

5 MR. WHEELER: Then one of the things I would
6 like to question is as to whether there could be
7 any possible deviation relative to the community
8 having a voice first, rather than the experts?

9 MR. BOOKER: We can't deviate from that
10 because the applicant is the Housing Authority.
11 We have to listen to their presentation as to
12 declaration of blight.

13 MR. WHEELER: For the record, Mr. Chairman,
14 I want to have it placed in the record relative,
15 Mr. Chairman, to the Minutes of the previous
16 meeting, what is your disposition at this moment?
17 I am moving now for the record that the Minutes
18 of the previous meeting do not or are not included
19 as a part of this meeting or hearing.

20 MR. BOOKER: The Minutes of the previous
21 meeting are not a part of this meeting. This is
22 a new meeting. The other meeting was adjourned
23 indefinitely.

24 MR. WHEELER: The other meeting was
25 adjourned indefinitely and this is--

1 MR. BOOKER: This is the official new
2 meeting.

3 MR. WHEELER: So, for all intents and
4 purposes, the other meeting never took place?

5 MR. BOOKER: That is correct, it is null
6 and void.

7 MR. WHEELER: Would the Secretary now
8 receive my list of witnesses?

9 MR. BOOKER: Yes.

10 MR. WHEELER: Along with this, will the
11 Chairman recognize me as the Manager for the
12 United Committee?

13 MR. BOOKER: I recognize you through the
14 Chair.

15 MR. WHEELER: Yes, all right.

16 Mr. Chairman, as per our pre-meeting
17 discussion, the list, as it reads, is not neces-
18 sarily the order in which I call my people. Is
19 that acceptable to the Chair?

20 MR. BOOKER: Yes.

21 MR. WHEELER: In other words, through the
22 Chair, I will inform the Chair who my speaker is
23 after we have heard their speaker and the Chair
24 will then call my speakers.

25 MR. BOOKER: That is satisfactory.

1 MR. WHEELER: Thank you.

2 MR. BOOKER: The Secretary at this time
3 will read the definition of blight.

4 MR. GIACCHIANE: For the purpose of insert-
5 ing this into the record, this hearing will
6 consider whether an area which will be described
7 in a few minutes is a blighted area as defined
8 by the New Jersey Statute 49:55-21.1.

9 As used in this Act, the term "blighted
10 area" shall mean an area in any municipality
11 wherein there exists any of the conditions
12 hereinafter enumerated:

13 The generality of buildings used as
14 dwelling or the dwelling accomodations therein
15 are sub-standard, unsafe, insanitary, dilapidated
16 or obsolescent, or possess any of such character-
17 istics, or are so lacking in light, air, or space,
18 as to be conducive to unwholesome living;

19 The discontinuance of the use of buildings
20 previously used for manufacturing or industrial
21 purposes, the abandonment of such buildings or
22 the same being allowed to fall into so great a
23 state of disrepair as to be untenable;

24 Unimproved vacant land, which has remained
25 so for a period of ten years prior to the deter-

1 mination hereinafter referred to, and which
2 land by reason of its location, or remoteness
3 from developed sections or portions of such
4 municipality or lack of means of access to such
5 other parts thereof, or topography, or nature
6 of the soil, is not likely to be developed
7 through the instrumentality of private capital;

8 Areas (including slum areas), with build-
9 ings or improvements which by reason of dilapidated,
10 obsolescence, overcrowding, faulty arrangement or
11 design, lack of ventilation, light and sanitary
12 facilities, excessive land coverage, deleterious
13 land use or obsolete layout, or any combination
14 of these or other factors, are detrimental to
15 the safety, health, morals, or welfare of the
16 community;

17 A growing or total lack of proper utiliza-
18 tion of areas caused by the condition of the
19 title, diverse ownership of the real property
20 therein and other conditions, resulting in a
21 stagnant and unproductive condition of land
22 potentially useful and valuable for contributing
23 to and serving the public health, safety and
24 welfare.

25 Now, Mr. Chairman, I would like to add

8
1 that this meeting is being conducted pursuant
2 to resolution by the Municipal Council of the
3 City of Newark, adopted on March 15, 1967,
4 Resolution 7 RF, designating and authorizing
5 the Central Planning Board to make an investiga-
6 tion and hold public hearing to determine whether
7 the Medical Center of the Renewal Project Area
8 as designated in this resolution is a blighted
9 area.

10 We shall insert the resolution into the
11 record, but for the purposes of identification,
12 the area on which the hearing is being held is
13 bounded by 12th Avenue on the north, Bergen
14 Street on the west, South Orange Avenue on the
15 south and Norfolk Street on the East. It is a
16 fourteen-block area in the City of Newark.

17 Thank you.

18 MR. BOOKER: Thank you, Mr. Secretary,
19 for the definition.

20 We will, at this time, call on the Counsel
21 for the Housing Authority to introduce evidence
22 and after which we will hear from the first
23 speaker which will be Mr. Louis Danzig.

24 MR. KELLY: Mr. Chairman, Members of the
25 Central Planning Board of the City of Newark,

1 Ladies and Gentlemen;

2 Under Chapter 300 of the Laws of 1949,
3 a municipality was empowered to designate a
4 Housing Authority as the urban renewal agency
5 as we call it now for slum clearance and urban
6 renewal in the City of Newark. Under and by
7 virtue of that Chapter, Ordinance No. 590 of the
8 City of Newark was adopted on September 7,
9 1949. The Ordinance was entitled "An Ordinance
10 Constituting, Designating and Authorizing the
11 Housing Authority of the City of Newark to
12 undertake slum clearance and urban redevelopment."
13 I ask that this Ordinance be marked as Exhibit
14 No. 1.

15 (The Exhibit was then marked.)

16 MR. KELLY: Under date of January 18,
17 1967, the Municipal Council of the City of Newark
18 adopted Resolution 7 RF, entitled Resolution of
19 Municipal Council of the City of Newark
20 approving undertaking of surveys and plans for
21 an urban renewal project and filing of an
22 application, Medical Center Urban Renewal
23 Project. I ask that this Resolution be marked
24 in Evidence as Exhibit No. 2.

25 (The Resolution was marked Exhibit No. 2.)

1 MR. KELLY: The Secretary of the Planning
2 Board has referred to Resolution 7 RF dated
3 March 15, 1957, entitled Resolution Designating
4 and authorizing the Central Planning Board to
5 make an investigation and hold public hearing
6 to determine whether the Medical Center Urban
7 Renewal Project Area as designated in this
8 resolution is a blighted area. I ask that
9 this resolution, 7 RF, be marked as Exhibit
10 No. 3.

11 (The Resolution was marked Exhibit No. 3.)

12 MR. KELLY: In keeping with the statute
13 under which we are proceeding this evening, when
14 the Central Planning Board had been authorized
15 to conduct a preliminary investigation and in
16 connection therewith hold a public hearing, it
17 is required that a map of the area be prepared
18 and that such map be placed on display in the
19 City Hall. There is one here on the easel;
20 so that this one may remain on the easel, I have
21 a copy and would ask that the copy of the area
22 in question be marked in Evidence as Exhibit
23 No. 4.

24 (The Map was marked Exhibit No. 4.)

25 MR. KELLY: Also required by the statute

1 is, that notice be given by the publication
2 and notice was posted and published, rather,
3 in the Newark News on May 26, 1967, and June 1,
4 1967. I ask that the Affidavit of the publication
5 to which is attached the copy of the public notice
6 be placed in Evidence as Exhibit No. 5.

7 (The Affidavit of Publication was marked
8 Exhibit No. 5.)

9 MR. KELLY: The same notice or similar
10 notice was also published in the Newark Star
11 Ledger on May 26, 1967, and again on June 1,
12 1967. I have the Affidavit of the publication
13 and I would ask that such affidavit, to which
14 is attached a copy of the public notice be placed
15 in Evidence.

16 (The Affidavit of Publication was marked
17 Exhibit No. 6.)

18 MR. KELLY: Also proceeding under the
19 statute, there is a requirement that all persons
20 having an interest in or owning property within
21 the area in question be informed and advised of
22 this public hearing. I have an Affidavit of
23 Joseph F. Lounsbury, employed by the City of
24 Newark in the Department of Revenue as an
25 Assistant Supervisor, in which he deposes that
he did take from the assessment records the names

1 of such persons and did prepare envelopes
2 addressed to those persons. The envelopes were
3 then given to Mr. Aldo Giacchiane, Planning
4 Officer and Acting Secretary of the Central
5 Planning Board. I ask this Affidavit be marked
6 in Evidence.

7 (The Affidavit was marked Exhibit No. 7.)

8 MR. KELLY: The next affidavit is that
9 of Mr. Aldo Giacchiane, Acting Executive Secretary
10 of the Planning Board and Planning Officer, as
11 previously stated, wherein he recites that he
12 did receive from Joseph F. Lounsbury the
13 envelopes in question addressed to the last
14 owner of each parcel of property within the
15 area, according to the assessment records of
16 the City, and in addition thereto, envelopes
17 addressed to those persons whose names are
18 noted on such assessment records as claims of
19 interest in said parcels and that said envelopes
20 contained a notice of this hearing, was
21 addressed to, mailed to each individual just
22 above referred to. I would ask the Affidavit
23 of Mr. Giacchiane be placed in Evidence.

24 (The Affidavit was marked Exhibit No. 8.)

25 MR. KELLY: Under the direction of

1 Mr. Alfred Walker, one of the speakers on this 12
2 of the Authority this evening, a house-to-house
3 survey was made. Representing each residential
4 structure, I have a card showing the results
5 of the investigation, both exteriorly and
6 interiorly and these cards for each structure
7 have been placed in the care and custody and
8 control of the Central Planning Board, and
9 I would ask that all cards be marked in Evidence.
10 That applies also to non-residential structures.
11 The cards are all in the possession of the
12 Central Planning Board. I would ask that those
13 cards be marked in Evidence.

14 (The Cards were marked in Evidence as
15 Exhibit No. 9.)

16 MR. KELLY: The survey as conducted by
17 Mr. Walker is all embodied in this document
18 entitled Existing Conditions, Survey, and since
19 Mr. Walker will refer to this constantly during
20 his talk, I ask that the Existing Conditions
21 Survey be marked as an Exhibit.

22 (At which time the Survey was marked
23 as Exhibit No. 10 in Evidence.)

24 MR. KELLY: Much has been said about
25 relocation. Mr. Lawrence, the Director of

1 Relocation in his talk will refer to means,
2 methods and operation of the Housing Authority
3 insofar as relocation practices, plans, are
4 concerned. I have the exhibits showing relocation
5 policies, procedures and operations which will
6 be referred to by Mr. Lawrence during his talk
7 and I would ask that this now be placed in
8 Evidence as an exhibit.

9 (Relocation policies, procedures and
10 operations marked as Exhibit 11 in Evidence.)

11 MR. KELLY: The first speaker on behalf
12 of the Housing Authority will be Mr. Louis
13 Danzig, its Executive Director. Mr. Danzig is
14 a lawyer by profession, having been admitted
15 to practice in the State of New Jersey in
16 1930. He has been associated with the Housing
17 Authority since 1942, and has been its Executive
18 Director since 1948. He studied planning and
19 housing at Columbia University, New York
20 University and has lectured on the subject of
21 housing and urban renewal at the University
22 of Pittsburgh, Rutgers, the State University,
23 the New School of Social Research, and the
24 Newark College of Engineering.

25 Since 1949, when the Authority was appointed

1 by the governing body of the City as the
2 agency for slum clearance and urban renewal
3 for the City, he has been in full charge and
4 has the direction of all seventeen urban
5 renewal programs of the Authority.

6 In the performance of his duties, he
7 has become an expert in both public housing
8 and in urban renewal. Mr. Danzig was twice
9 elected president of the National Association
10 of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, Middle
11 Atlantic Region, and for more than ten years
12 has been Finance Chairman for the National
13 Housing Conference and for that period has been
14 a member of its Policy and Legislative Committees.

15 For his contributions in the field of
16 housing and urban renewal, he received the
17 annual award of the Newark Citizens Housing
18 Council in 1954.

19 In 1959, he was given an award of
20 appreciation by the Newark Chapter of the
21 National Association for the Advancement of
22 Colored People.

23 In April of this year, he was honored by
24 the National Housing Conference in Washington,
25 D.C., and the Frontiers International in Newark,

1 New Jersey.

2 He is a lifelong resident of this City.

3 His activities in many civic organizations
4 give to him an intimate knowledge of the City
5 and, in particular, a very intimate knowledge of
6 the area which is under discussion this evening.
7 He is recognized by those engaged in housing
8 and urban renewal as one of the Nation's outstand-
9 ing leading officers.

10 I present at this time our first speaker,
11 Mr. Louis Danzig.

12 MR. BOOKER: The Chair at this time will
13 call all speakers after Mr. Danzig. This time
14 we recognize Mr. Danzig, the Executive Secretary
15 of the Newark Housing Authority.

16 MR. DANZIG: Mr. Chairman, Members of the
17 Planning Board, Ladies and Gentlemen;

18 The purpose of this public hearing is
19 to assist the Planning Board in its determination
20 of whether the area being considered is blighted
21 within the purview of the State law. It seems
22 appropriate, however, to review some of the
23 circumstances which led to the holding of this
24 hearing.

25 The Housing Authority was given redvelop-

1 ment powers by the City under the provisions
2 of Chapter 360 of the Laws of 1949 of New Jersey.
3 In this Law, it is stated, as a matter of
4 legislative determination:

5 "That there exists in many communities
6 within this State blighted areas . . . that such
7 areas cause an increase in and spread of disease
8 and crime and constitute a menace to the health,
9 safety, morals and welfare of the residents of
10 the State;

11 "That these conditions necessitate
12 excessive and disproportionate expenditures of
13 public funds for crime prevention . . . public
14 health and safety, fire and accident protection,
15 and other public services and facilities";

16 The State legislation also declared -

17 "That the clearance, replanning and
18 preparation for rebuilding of these (blighted)
19 areas, and the prevention or the reduction
20 of blight and its causes, are public uses and
21 purposes for which public money may be spent and
22 private property acquired and are governmental
23 functions of State concern";

24 This law implemented the public purposes
25 stated in the State Constitution as follows:

1 "The clearance, replanning and development
2 or redevelopment of blighted areas shall be a
3 public purpose and public use, for which private
4 property may be taken or acquired. Municipal,
5 public or private corporations may be authorized
6 by law to undertake such clearance, replanning,
7 development or redevelopment".

8 The great purpose of this legislation
9 is the elimination of slums and blight. The
10 clear intent is that redevelopment projects must
11 be undertaken whenever blight is found and be
12 planned for redevelopment in uses that are suitable
13 and practical. Since the City assigned the func-
14 tion of blight elimination to the Housing
15 Authority, we have tried to perform it to the
16 limit of available financial resources.

17 Housing and renewal in Newark are combined
18 and are designed to produce a balanced program
19 involving the rebuilding of our City in an orderly
20 fashion.

21 In the rebuilding process we have to-date
22 demolished more than 9,000 dwelling units.
23 These have been replaced with 17,625 units,
24 including 10,227 units of low-rent housing.
25 --,526 units for the elderly either occupied or

1 under construction, 400 units of moderate income
2 housing already occupied along Quinlan Street
3 with 600 additional units ready for ground-
4 breaking this summer, 1,340 units in the Colonnade,
5 432 units in the Hallmark House, 232 units of
6 moderate income sponsored by the Mt. Calvary
7 Baptist Church in Clinton Hill for which ground
8 was broken a week ago today.

9
10 MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, a point of
11 personal privilege.

12 MR. BOOKER: No.

13 MR. DANZIG: And a minimum of 5,000 new
14 units projected within the model city project
15 resulting from the contraction of the Medical
16 School site.

17 MR. MOORE: But I wish a point of personal
18 privilege.

19 MR. BOOKER: The speaker has the floor.
20 There will be no interruptions.

21 MR. MOORE: On a point of personal
22 privilege--

23 MR. BOOKER: You will have an opportunity
24 to speak. We will have no interruptions.

25 MR. MOORE: It is germane to the
conduct of the hearing. It has nothing to

1 do with the speakers. You will--

2 MR. BOOKER: You will have an opportunity
3 to speak as soon as the speaker is finished.

4 MR. MOORE: It just might be that it will
5 be after the fact, a point of personal privilege.

6 MR. BOOKER: No personal privileges. After
7 the speaker has finished.

8 MR. MOORE: That is in order, Mr. Chairman.

9 MR. BOOKER: The speaker will be finished
10 in a few minutes and then you will have an
11 opportunity to speak.

12 MR. WHEELER: The point of special privilege
13 deals with the conducting of this hearing and
14 we are asking you to rule so that we may bring
15 something to your attention that involves the
16 validity of the conducting of the hearing. It
17 has nothing to do with the speaker that is
18 speaking and we are not interrupting him, tech-
19 nically.

20 MR. BOOKER: You will have an opportunity
21 to bring this point after the speaker has
22 finished. This is the ruling of the Chair.

23 MR. WHEELER: It will be too late. We
24 have to stand by it and it is in your interest,
25 Mr. Chairman.

1 MR. BOOKER: You will have an opportunity
2 to speak. We will rest on this.

3 MR. WHEELER: You have to recognize the
4 parliamentary procedure.

5 MR. BOOKER: After this speaker is
6 finished. There will be no interruptions. You
7 will have an opportunity to speak.

8 MR. MOORE: May we refer you to Roberts
9 Rules relative to this question?

10 MR. WHEELER: We are fighting in your
11 interest and you are denying us the right to do
12 it?

13 MR. BOOKER: I believe you are fighting
14 in my interest.

15 MR. WHEELER: In this particular instance,
16 yes.

17 MR. BOOKER: You will have an opportunity
18 to speak as soon as the speaker is finished. We
19 are going to conduct an orderly meeting. You
20 will have an opportunity to speak.

21 MR. WHEELER: This is as obvious as black
22 is black and white is white.

23 MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, a point of
24 personal privilege is a privilege motion that
25 needs a second in any general assembly. It is

1 present upon the speaker to recognize it, the
2 Chair to recognize this.

3 MR. BOOKER: The Chair rules you will
4 have an opportunity to speak at the conclusion
5 of the address by Mr. Danzig.

6 MR. MOORE: I challenge the ruling of
7 the chair.

8 MR. WHEELER: And we are going to remain
9 here. You can't do this. This is not arbitrary.
10 There are rules and guidelines.

11 MR. MOORE: The Congress of the United
12 States recognizes this.

13 MR. BOOKER: The Chair has ruled on the
14 motion, sir.

15 MR. WHEELER: It is not a motion, Mr.
16 Chairman. It does not require a second.

17 MR. MOORE: No second, nothing.

18 MR. BOOKER: Would you take your seat,
19 please, and let the speaker finish?

20 MR. WHEELER: No, Mr. Chairman.

21 MR. MOORE: Can we have a ruling from
22 counsel on this point?

23 MR. BOOKER: The Chair has ruled.

24 MR. MOORE: I appeal the ruling of the
25 Chair.

1 MR. WHEELER: You must refer to an impartial
2 party for a ruling.

3 MR. BOOKER: This is a Citizens body and
4 the Chair has ruled. You will have an opportu-
5 nity to make your objection.

6 MR. WHEELER: Are you saying that you have
7 the right to accuse a citizen that by virtue of
8 the fact that we are citizens you may act
9 arbitrarily; is that what you are saying, Mr.
10 Chairman?

11 MR. MOORE: I am glad you said it was a
12 citizens assembly. Part of the duties of
13 the Chairman conducting a citizens assembly is
14 to protect the rights of the citizens to be heard.

15 MR. BOOKER: We have ground rules. You
16 will have an opportunity to speak.

17 MR. MOORE: Are you aware of the contents
18 of Roberts Rules of Order?

19 MR. WHEELER: Would you read it into the
20 record?

21 MR. BOOKER: The rules have been set down
22 by the Chairman at this meeting.

23 MR. WHEELER: No, you can't do that. You
24 are governed by the statute.

25 MR. BOOKER: We will ask the people to take

1 your seats at this time and as soon as we get
2 finished--

3 MR. MOORE: We are asking for a ruling.

4 MR. WHEELER: A ruling by the Chair.

5 MR. MOORE: I know you have counsel here.
6 You have had him here before. We want a ruling
7 on this and counsel--

8 MR. BOOKER: Would you take your seats,
9 please?

10 MR. MOORE: A point of personal privilege
11 having to do with the conducting of this meeting.
12 You have no right to rule against a point of
13 personal privilege, Mr. Chairman. You have no
14 right, absolutely no right. This cannot be
15 challenged. I ask Mr. Danzig for a ruling.

16 MR. BOOKER: We will have no interruptions.

17 MR. WHEELER: This is not an interruption,
18 Mr. Chairman.

19 MR. BOOKER: The Chair rules that it is
20 an interruption.

21 MR. WHEELER: Mr. Chairman, a point of
22 personal privilege has to be acted upon. It has
23 nothing to do with the speaker or the rules that
24 you have laid down. It deals with the orderly
25 procedure of the conducting of any assemblage,

1 Mr. Chairman, and we have precedent galore,
2 contained in Roberts Rules.

3 MR. BOOKER: Sir, if the Chair has ruled,
4 if the Chair is in error, you will have remedial
5 procedure to follow to correct it.

6 MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman--

7 MR. WHEELER: There is no relief based
8 on what you have just said. The relief is in
9 the appeal and you refuse to accept the appeal
10 to your ruling. Consequently, you are denying
11 us relief.

12 MR. MOORE: You have to do one or the
13 other.

14 MR. WHEELER: One of two things, Mr.
15 Chairman.

16 MR. BOOKER: Would you take your seats,
17 please?

18 MR. WHEELER: We can't do that, Mr.
19 Chairman. We can't do that. You are asking
20 us to abdicate our rights and arbitrarily do so.

21 (A disturbance ensued.)

22 MR. WHEELER: A point of special privilege;
23 you can't deny that. They put you on the spot, baby,
24 that's what they did. Everybody know it.

25 MR. BOOKER: Mr. Danzig, the Chairman

1 will grant the privilege to listen to Mr. Henry
2 Wheeler.

3 MR. WHEELER: The personal privilege was
4 directed by Mr. Moore.

5 MR. BOOKER: Would you take the microphone,
6 Mr. Moore.

7 MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, it has come to
8 our attention, either in fact or erroneously,
9 that the television cameras are being barred
10 from this hearing. We want a ruling from the
11 Chair relative to whether the television cameras
12 are to remain or whether they are to go, so that
13 we may, if you bar the television cameras,
14 avail ourselves to a prearranged plan of our own
15 to have an injunction, a restraining order
16 immediately as soon as you say no, but you have
17 to say no if you are going to do it.

18 MR. BOOKER: The Chair has ruled with
19 regard to television cameras, that they can
20 remain in the room. We did not rule, but in
21 the back of the room and not in the front so
22 as not to disrupt this meeting.

23 MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, looking around
24 the assembly, it isn't very possible with
25 the close turnout that television cameras on

1 the side of the room there would interfere in
2 any manner. In fact, the Chairman of the Board
3 of Education tried under very adverse conditions
4 that we could have standees two deep along the
5 side of the room and all the seats in the balcony
6 filled and all we are asking you to do is let
7 the television cameras remain at an advantageous
8 position so that they can go about their business.

9 MR. BOOKER: The Chair has ruled that
10 the television cameras will remain in the room,
11 but in the rear of the room, so as not to disrupt
12 this meeting. We will proceed with the meeting,
13 please.

14 Proceed with the meeting now. We have
15 ruled on that.

16 MR. DANZIG: Mr. Chairman, I want to say
17 for the Housing Authority that television cameras
18 on the sides of the room will not be objection-
19 able to us so that in order that we may proceed
20 in an orderly fashion with this public hearing,
21 the news media should be free to be along the
22 sides and the rear, as long as there is no
23 disruption of the meeting.

24 MR. WHEELER: Mr. Danzig represents the
25 applicant agency, as you well know.

1 MR. BOONER: The Chair has the floor
2 now. The Chair will provide television coverage
3 in the room on the side, but not in the front
4 of the auditorium.

5 MR. DANZIG: Mr. Chairman, additionally
6 there has been programmed: 826 units for large
7 low-income families; 354 units for the brick-
8 layers Co-op, located on the former St. Barnabas
9 Hospital site; 400 units for the citizens group
10 apartments at High and West Kinney Street,
11 200 units for the elderly sponsored by the St.
12 James A.M.E. Church, also on High Street at the
13 corner of Court Street and 136 units for the
14 elderly sponsored by the Mt. Carmel Guild on
15 Saybrook Place for a total increase of almost
16 double the number of dwelling units demolished.
17 These provide dwelling units for families at
18 all levels of income.

19 Rebuilding the city involves more than
20 housing. People need jobs which mean commercial
21 and industrial construction. People need educa-
22 tion which means schools, playgrounds, and
23 recreational facilities. People need religion,
24 which means churches and related community
25 facilities. People need health care, vacations

1 and entertainment. People need many other things
2 to make life worth living.

3 Urban renewal is the only tool available
4 to replace blight with facilities for all these
5 things, within a balanced program serving all
6 the needs of all the people.

7 In order to accomplish these total
8 objectives, Newark's balanced urban renewal
9 program includes in addition to housing, the
10 following:

11 A new \$2-1/2 million John F. Kennedy
12 swimming pool in the old third ward urban
13 renewal project.

14 A newly planned YMCA in lower Clinton Hill.

15 A new stadium at Rome and St. Charles
16 Street.

17 MR. WHEELER: Why don't you talk about the
18 schools.

19 MR. DANZIG: New commercial facilities
20 such as the Autostar on Broad Street and the
21 20 million dollars worth of construction
22 opposite the Pennsylvania Station which will
23 include a 30-story office building, a 200-room
24 hotel with swimming pool and a 1,200 seat
25 theater. A new and expanded St. Benedict's

1 Proprietary School and St. Mary's Abbey which
2 are located on High Brow in William and Barnford
3 Place.

4 New churches, such as Bethany Baptist,
5 Israel Memorial, Mount Pleasant Baptist, St.
6 Nicholas Greek Orthodox.

7 A balanced program means schools and
8 colleges. Our urban renewal program has caused
9 new schools to be built (West Kinney and
10 Broadway Junior High - McKinley and Quitman
11 Streets), additions to be added to others
12 (Montgomery, Morton plus playgrounds) at these
13 and still other schools.

14 A balanced program has caused entirely
15 new and beautiful campuses to be created for
16 (Rutgers, Seton Hall Law School, Newark College
17 of Engineering, and a site already selected
18 for Essex County Community College) affording
19 opportunities to local residents to attend
20 these institutions who could not afford to
21 travel beyond the City or board away from home.

22 A balanced program has produced the vast
23 newlands project (probably the largest
24 single urban renewal project in the country)
25 which will create tens of thousands of new jobs.

1 A balanced program means hospital and
2 health care for the residents of our city.
3 Our renewal program will enable St. Michael
4 Hospital to make a major expansion. A balanced
5 program brings to Newark at Bergen and West
6 Market Street new clinical and hospital facil-
7 ities relating to the problem of mental health.

8 To more perfectly balance the urban
9 renewal program in Newark we now have a unique
10 opportunity to have in our midst the newest and
11 most modern Medical Center in the United States.
12 The presence of this complex will certainly
13 create additional jobs in the nearby pharmaceut-
14 ical, chemical and electronics industries
15 which will provide opportunities for collabor-
16 ative research. Newark has available a large
17 number of skilled and unskilled workers, tech-
18 nicians and professional personnel which will
19 be necessary to staff and operate the College of
20 Medicine and Dentistry and the University
21 Hospital.

22 The primary objection of the creation
23 of a State Medical and Dental College is to
24 adequately train health manpower to meet the
25 medical needs not now available to the poor.

Involvement in the urban scene will best motivate young physicians-in-training to attack the malice-social problems of such areas. It will raise the level of community health by introducing services never before possible through ordinary medical and hospital services.

Generally the objectives of urban renewal are two-fold: the elimination of slums to raise living standards, and economic and cultural revitalization. In this project area these objectives include health facilities and services of a type heretofore not feasible as a community responsibility.

In achieving the reality of a Medical Center, Newark will be pioneering for other metropolitan areas in the nation.

Blight makes many demands of municipal services while producing very little revenue. Slums produce only 6 percent of municipal revenues while consuming 49 percent of the City expenditures for schools, welfare services, fire and police protection and other public functions. The urban renewal process is difficult, expensive and time-consuming. Nevertheless, it is an indispensable factor in checking and reversing

1 the declining trend under which American cities
2 have suffered in recent years.

3 In its capacity as the City's urban
4 renewal agency, the Housing Authority will submit
5 evidence to the Planning Board to show that the
6 Hearing area is blighted.

7 This evidence will be presented by Mr.
8 Alfred J. Walker, who supervises the collection
9 and tabulation of the existing conditions survey.
10 We believe that the conditions he will describe
11 are characteristic of a "blighted area" as
12 defined in the State law.

13 If the Planning Board determines that the
14 Hearing area is blighted and this finding is
15 approved by the Municipal Council, an Urban
16 Renewal Plan for the project will be developed
17 by the Housing Authority. This Urban Renewal
18 Plan, when reviewed and approved by the Planning
19 Board and the Municipal Council, will then be
20 the subject of another public hearing, as
21 required by Federal law, before funds will be
22 made available to carry out the proposed Urban
23 Renewal Plan.

24 Urban renewal is well understood in Newark
25 but let me say for the record that, if the hearing

1 area is blighted, as we consider it to be and
2 in Federal guidelines are outlined that an urban
3 renewal project is feasible, as we are sure it
4 is, then the City will proceed to acquire property,
5 the Newark Housing Authority will relocate
6 occupants, condemn structures, assemble and dispose
7 of the land at re-use value to the New Jersey
8 College of Medicine and Dentistry for rebuilding
9 according to the controls as set forth in the
10 urban renewal plan.

11 From our extensive previous experience
12 with urban renewal projects, properties to be
13 acquired will be purchased by negotiation at fair
14 market value with a minimum resort to condemnation.
15 Site residents and non-residential occupants
16 will be assisted to relocate and given payments
17 for moving expenses and for direct loss of
18 personal property without undue hardship.

19 I have lived in Newark for more than 55
20 years, I know the City and love it. It needs
21 much improvement. The area in question in my
22 judgment is severely blighted and for all
23 practical purposes is unfit for human habitation
24 and should be torn down.

25 MR. WHEELER: Why you let it get that way?

1 MR. DANZIG: We are constantly faced with
2 the virtual choice between inaction with sudden
3 delay or growth through the normal process.
4 We have no alternative.

5 Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and
6 Gentlemen.

7 MR. MOORE: As per our arrangement, our
8 speaker is the man who has been the forefront
9 of Civil Rights activities in the Newark and
10 Essex County area and State of New Jersey. He
11 is a former Democratic Assemblyman elect of
12 Essex County. He is a charter member and
13 co-founder of the Business Industrial Coordinating
14 Committee. He is former secretary of the
15 Insurance Fund of Newark. He is Chairman of
16 the United Committee, United Essex Civic
17 Association. He is Chairman of the United
18 Committee for Political Freedom. He has been
19 cited in 1965 by the Business Industrial
20 Coordinating Council for meritorious community
21 service and last year by the Congress of
22 Racial Equality for meritorious community service.

23 I bring to the podium the Honorable
24 George C. Richardson.

25 MR. BOOKER: The Chair recognizes the

1 Honorable George C. Richardson.

2 MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman, at the
3 outset, let me say that as long as any urban
4 renewal project, planned or contemplated, that
5 will uproot more than 22,000 Negroes, without
6 any planned new housing to be built, this project
7 will never be completed in Newark.

8 Mr. Danzig comes to us with the fine
9 background and credits in urban renewal. We
10 will go into detail later about that. Just
11 what Mr. Danzig's urban renewal programs have
12 brought to Newark and how it has benefitted
13 Negroes:

14 Number one, with all of the fifty years
15 that Mr. Danzig has lived in Newark, we still
16 question his credits as an expert on what is
17 going on in the Negro community. Now let me
18 say that Newark Housing Authority has attempted
19 to show that the area located in what is known
20 as the Medical Side is a blighted area. How-
21 ever, the description that we have heard of
22 the conditions existing in this area could well
23 apply to almost any Negro ghetto in the Central
24 Ward, in the Lower South Ward, in parts of the
25 East Ward, around Sherman Avenue, parts of the

1 West Ward, and even parts of the North Ward
2 around Broadway and Oriental. So, blight is
3 not an unknown entity to the City of Newark.
4 Blight is a ~~well known~~ entity in the City of Newark and
5 the Housing Authority has used to bring about
6 plans and programs that they deem necessary.

7 We maintain, Mr. Chairman, that the
8 entire blight hearing as well as the
9 criteria and priorities for determining blight
10 makes a mockery of justice and is also illegal.
11 The City determined to have that area declared
12 blight so that it can recover some of the
13 \$25 million dollars that it will outweigh from
14 the urban renewal funds. If the Medical College
15 trustees have demanded new land to the north or
16 even to the west of Bartland Medical Center,
17 then Newark Housing Authority would have seen
18 fit to deem that area blighted also.

19 No--for that matter, any other area that
20 the Medical trustees of the College have wanted
21 for that site, you as a Planning Board of Newark
22 would have been asked to declare that area
23 blighted and the Newark Housing Authority will
24 have come before you with all the statistics
25 necessary to show that this area was blighted.

25

1 To give a general analysis of what we feel
2 is at the heart of this planning, and the Newark
3 School, I would like to read to you a letter
4 from the United Committee for Political Freedom
5 dated February 10, 1967, which is addressed to
6 the members of the New Jersey State Legislature,
7 State House, Trenton, New Jersey;

8 "Dear New Jersey Legislators," I might
9 add that this applies to the Planning Board as
10 well.

11 "In considering your decision, may we
12 ask you to give serious thought to the follow-
13 ing results for the people of Newark if the
14 present plans are approved.

15 "Number one, it will cause large-scale
16 dislocation, up to 22,000 people will eventually
17 lose their present homes. Many of these
18 people will be unable to purchase new homes
19 because of their age or financial condition.
20 All of these people will find it difficult
21 to find new homes because of housing discrimin-
22 ation.

23 "Number two, because of other incomplete
24 urban renewal projects and projected highways,
25 this hasty dislocation will intensify Newark's

1 directly address education and housing problem.
2 The involvement of the National College plan
3 will seriously interfere with national city
4 planning. It will only perpetuate the Trinity
5 Cathedral's House Affairs Committee recently
6 called Newark's educational crisis.

7 'Now, this obviously is not a Board of
8 Education meeting, but it also ought to be
9 obvious that the Planning Board must take into
10 consideration those aspects pertaining to
11 education when we think in terms of relocating
12 or uprooting or redeveloping a certain area.

13 'To relocate 22,000 people will create
14 a tremendous hardship on already overcrowded
15 schools in the City of Newark. Now, I am sure
16 that most of you gentlemen are aware that our
17 school system is in a bad state today because
18 of overcrowdedness. We have many youngsters
19 going to school on half days. We have many
20 classes where we have as many as forty youngsters
21 in a class. Many, many surveys and reports
22 have shown that a large number of Negro youngsters
23 graduating from our high schools simply cannot
24 read or they are reading four and five years
25 behind their level. They are two and three

1 years behind in mathematics due to overcrowded
2 conditions and what this educational system
3 is doing to our children is simply educating
4 these youngsters to become school dropouts,
5 drug addicts, potential criminals, potential
6 welfare participants and a great deal of this,
7 gentlemen, is brought about by irrational
8 planning and urban renewal.

9 "Number four, in this letter, we point
10 out the laws of tax ratables bear very grave
11 consequences for Newark citizens, as I think
12 most of them are beginning to realize, that
13 they begin to receive their tax bills for
14 this year. So far, there is no indication
15 that the medical college or the State Government
16 plans to make any special contributions to
17 alleviate this tax problem. We also ask you
18 to consider two other facts, the first is that
19 many urban renewal experts other than Mr. Danzig
20 have come to oppose this kind of large-scale
21 disruption of community life. Second and more
22 important is that the citizens of the area
23 affected and of the City in general have not
24 been fairly consulted about this proposal."

25 This last point is very serious,

1 Mr. Chairman, and as Mr. Paul Yavasacker,
2 Commissioner for the New Jersey Committee
3 Community Affairs Department recently said in
4 a public statement, we have reached a point
5 where they, meaning they the cities, meaning
6 they the Housing Board and people like your-
7 selves, will begin collective bargaining with
8 Negroes and other ghettoized racial groups.
9 Newark has given its Negro community no oppor-
10 tunity at all to express its opinion nor consulted
11 it in any way. This proposal has been rammed
12 down the throat of the Negro community whose
13 homes are going to be razed and we must not
14 permit this kind of careless attitude to exist
15 in New Jersey or in the City of Newark.

16 "For this reason we call upon you not
17 to acquiesce to the request by the Housing
18 Authority and we ask that you weigh the gains
19 against the losses for the citizens of Newark
20 and it is obvious that your vote in this matter
21 can be the beginning of fair play in our cities
22 and we ask that you allow your conscience
23 to be your guide in this matter."

24 This I think, outlines basically our
25 concern about this problem as we have relayed

1 this to the New Jersey State Legislature on
2 February 10, 1967.

3 Mr. Chairman, we have heard Mr. Danzig
4 and we have heard others--we have heard other
5 housing authority reports explain the relocation
6 procedure and point out how easily it would be
7 to relocate these people from within the first
8 stage of the medical site. But, Mr. Chairman,
9 let me say to you that this is a blatant attempt
10 to project piecemeal and not tell the whole
11 story of what urban renewal is and to project
12 piecemeal relocations of Negroes and not tell
13 the whole story about relocation. This is only
14 a part of the dastardly scheme that we know
15 to be a terrible fraud and injustice that is
16 being perpetrated against the Negro community
17 in Newark, which we will outline as I go along.

18 We maintain, Mr. Chairman, that this
19 whole question of the medical school site,
20 the blight hearing and relocation must not only
21 be looked at as an isolated incident affecting
22 only several thousand people coming from a
23 particular area, but it must be looked at in its
24 whole context of how it will ultimately affect
25 not only those people residing in the medical

1 site area, but the total effect it will have
2 on all the people of Newark and particularly
3 the Negroes in the ghetto.

4 To do this, Mr. Chairman, we must look
5 at the total urban renewal program as Mr.
6 Danzig has outlined it and its potential for
7 releasing people distressed by urban renewal
8 as well as the fact that these programs will
9 have on the entire community.

10 So, Mr. Chairman, let us review, as
11 Mr. Danzig has done for the record, the progress
12 of urban renewal here in the City of Newark
13 and its potential to provide decent housing for
14 the people and particularly the Negro community
15 in the City of Newark.

16 Mr. Chairman, as I understand it, this
17 is an urban renewal progress map prepared by
18 the Newark Housing Authority as of September,
19 1966. We have outlined in this map several of
20 the projects which perhaps does not come under
21 the purview of urban renewal department of
22 Newark, but has a great bearing on relocation
23 and on the whole problem of housing in the
24 City of Newark.

25 Now, Mr. Danzig gave a glowing picture
of urban renewal progress and the number of

1 dwelling units that would be projected in the
2 near future and I might add that there are a
3 great number that he mentioned do not appear
4 on his own map that was prepared as of December
5 of 1966, so I would only attempt to deal with
6 the urban renewal problem as I can see it,
7 based upon the map prepared by the Newark
8 Housing Authority as of September, 1966.
9

10 Now, the first project on there is
11 UR New Jersey 3-1, which is called a Branch
12 Brook Project in the North Ward. The former
13 slum area, one of the city's worst in the North
14 Ward was cleared for it. Now, a twenty-story
15 modern apartment building and an enlarged
16 renovated public school and new neighborhood
17 shopping center approval, recreation, public
18 facilities provided for five hundred sixty
19 family on the site. I doubt if one of the
20 families residing in that area came out of
21 the urban renewal program from the Central
22 Ward because it is indeed a middle-income
23 moderate-income type building.

24 UREJ 3-2, Broad Street Project, which I
25 assume everyone knows as the Colonnade Apart-
ments, which again is in the North Ward. This

1 project is completed as far as physical and social
2 processing is concerned. The area has been
3 planned and built. The large apartment buildings
4 containing a total of six hundred units have
5 been constructed and are out.

6 I daresay again, Mr. Chairman, that if
7 this is a middle-income-type dwelling, and no
8 Negroes that would have been relocated by urban
9 renewal from the Central Ward or the Negro ghetto
10 would be found residing in that particular
11 project.

12 Now, NJR 6, which I will take as one of
13 the largest projects contemplated in the City of
14 Newark. This project which is in the heart of
15 the Central Ward, Gentlemen, is of some 200 acres is
16 in execution. It has a Federal grant of seventeen
17 million plus seven dollars. Two public housing
18 projects have already been built and I think they
19 would be known as Stella Wright and Scudder
20 Homes and, of course, we do live there.

21 Under construction currently are approx-
22 imately two hundred units of FHA 22-V, three
23 middle-income housing units which would be the
24 Parker Projects. I daresay few of the Negroes
25 from the ghetto would be relocated in these co-ops.

1 The completion of this project will be considered
2 as a prime example of the construction of the North-
3 South Midtown Connector. This is going right
4 across the central part of the city. At comple-
5 tion, the project will contain areas of retail,
6 commercial activities, educational middle-income
7 and low-income housing and a number of churches
8 and other public and semi-public institutions,
9 and a new neighborhood park which I believe
10 Mr. Danning called the JFK Park. Thus created
11 a well-balanced residential neighborhood
12 providing relocation houses for families, let
13 me repeat that, thus creating a well-balanced
14 residential neighborhood providing relocation
15 housing for families in the central city area
16 project.

17 Now, I would construe that to mean,
18 Mr. Chairman, let me go on a minute, completion,
19 contemplates almost seven thousand new dwellings,
20 of which three thousand six hundred seventy-five
21 now exist. That is Scudder Homes, Stella Wright
22 and, I assume, the Parker Projects.

23 I would assume that the purpose of the
24 old Third Ward project was to build seven
25 thousand new dwelling units to provide for the

1 movement of people coming from the surrounding
2 area from the Central Ward project and from
3 other areas of urban renewal.

4 However, this project has not been
5 completed and if we drive through there, we
6 do see the JFK project which I understand has
7 been cancelled for some reason, but we see
8 nothing of any new houses being contemplated or
9 being planned in this area.

10 Now, we will go on, Mr. Chairman, to
11 MR 32, the Central Ward project. This is what
12 we have called the heavy industrial site and
13 this project aggregates 97 acres and this,
14 incidentally, Mr. Chairman, as you may know, is
15 for a long time in litigation by the members of
16 the Negro community that oppose an industrial
17 site located in the Central Ward without housing
18 and, of course, we lost that case. This project
19 aggregates ninety-seven acres and is now in
20 planning with the Federal Grant reservation of
21 ten million three hundred thirty-seven dollars.
22 The ninety-seven acres is exactly the first
23 part of the hundred twenty acres to be partly
24 cleared and redeveloped and partly reserved
25 in urban use zones. This processing of this

1 project will be delayed by the litigation as I
2 have just pointed out which is now concluded
3 in Mr. Danzig's favor.

4 Accordingly, a development of this area will
5 result in the retention of many of the existing
6 structures and the introduction of new industrial,
7 residential, commercial and public uses. About
8 five hundred thousand square feet of floor area
9 of new retail services and up to three million
10 square feet of area of light industrial usage
11 is provided for. However, I know of no development
12 for that land and there are no specific plans here
13 as I see it for any housing, so we can assume that
14 there are no housing contemplated in that
15 particular project.

16 NJA 30, the Lower Clinton Hill Project which
17 is here, this project comprises of seventy-eight
18 acres in which rehabilitation is to be predominated
19 and clearance is to be minor. It has a Federal grant
20 of one million six hundred eleven dollars. This
21 project is in operation and will eventually
22 include two new apartment buildings, which I
23 believe they have broken ground for now and is
24 sponsored by the Mount Calvary Baptist Church
25 along with Kislak Real Estate Company.

Now, I would think this would include less than three hundred dwelling units. NJR 48, which is the Newark College Engineering Project, which is at home, and is in execution with the donation of seven million eight hundred thirty-eight dollars. There is almost certainly started and also sold to two developers Newark College of Engineering and Rutgers University, and we can see where they have certainly gone on the way with their project with the Newark Law School and the Newark College of Engineering construction program. However, there is no housing planned for this particular site and I will daresay, out of this seven million dollars that have--that very little of it benefitted Negroes because I will doubt seriously if there were twenty-five Negroes attending both of these Universities.

NJR 49, the Hill Street Project, I am sure you gentlemen know where that is. It is right across the street from this building, with a Federal grant of three million seven hundred ninety-two dollars, this project comprises thirteen acres, construction of four hundred forty-five units, two twenty middle-income, and

the building was under way and I assume is
finished now. Completion of this building, and
contemplates a new retail commercial area of
approximately 2 million square feet of floor area.
Obviously, Mr. Chairman, out of these four
million forty-five units they were not designed
or completed for housing coming from the Central
Ward or the ghetto from Newark.

NJR 50, which is Educational Center, this
project has some twenty-four acres and a Federal
grant of two million two hundred forty-eight
dollars. Planning for this project has been
completed and construction action will start in the
near future. Completion, the complete redevelopment
of this area will produce a new campus for
Seton Hall and I believe Seton Hall said they
don't want it. Just as a hindsight thought, it
might be a good idea to give this to the Medical
School, but obviously there is no housing for
the people of Newark in this particular project.

NJR 52, the South Broad Street Project,
is in--which consists of thirty-five acres with
a Federal grant of six million five hundred
seventy-five dollars. This project is in execution.
I think we can see the land being developed along

1 Broad Street and has been sold too and construc-
2 tion was started and since 1960, incidentally, this
3 is 1970, was started by the Newark Star Ledger.
4 We see a brand spanking new building there.
5 Further construction is started or anticipated
6 next year. I will assume that will be this
7 year, now, but I see nothing under way for
8 commercial and residential reuse over seven
9 hundred dwelling units of FHA 220 housing and
10 very substantial, possibly three hundred
11 thousand square feet of floor area for
12 commercial, retail and services are under
13 consideration. I think we ought to note,
14 Mr. Chairman, how fast the administration can
15 move under urban renewal processes to clear and
16 develop land for the Newark Star Ledger and still
17 talking about the anticipation of the seven
18 hundred dwelling units sometime in the near
19 future for the people.

20 Now, NJR 58, the Newark Plaza Project,
21 which is, I think, across the street from
22 Penn Station in Newark. The project of some
23 fifty acres has an existing Federal grant
24 reservation of two million five hundred fifty-
25 four dollars. Planning activities are completed

1 and execution activities are scheduled to start
2 before the end of this year. I assume I am talk-
3 ing about '66. Large scale commercial develop-
4 ment which could aggregate two million square
5 feet floor area as planned for this area and
6 it is to include commercial office buildings,
7 retail shops, public parking garage, expansion
8 of the Newark Evening News as well as other
9 use. Also relocated in this project is part of
10 the Seton Hall campus, which I think I
11 pointed out that Seton Hall was no longer inter-
12 ested at, but again, Mr. Chairman, this is
13 ten million dollars of which no housing is
14 provided.

15 NJR 62, Essex Heights Project, this
16 project is in execution and contains forty-seven
17 acres and has a Federal grant of seven million
18 two hundred forty-eight dollars. Execution
19 activities have started. However, construction
20 starts are to be made in the westerly part of
21 this area for residential use and the easterly
22 part for commercial uses in 1965. Approximately
23 half of the acres being devoted to commercial
24 and the other half to residential use. One
25 thousand dwelling units of R1, 220 and five hundred

1 dwelling units of FHA 221 D 3 may be constructed
2 and the building would be a three story building,
3 commercial building type could be provided here.
4 Now, however, in this area they say may be
5 constructed. I think as one minute, Mr. Chairman.

6 (Pause in proceedings.)

7 MR. RICHARDSON: If I am not mistaken,
8 it is either down on the program right next to
9 that is where we built a new garage for the
10 County Courthouse and again it is interesting
11 to note that with a seven million dollar grant
12 that the authorities could move very swiftly
13 to build and construct an institution for the
14 establishment, but has not yet, to my knowledge,
15 moved to the westerly part of this area to begin
16 any construction of residential properties.

17 Now, HSN 72, which is the Fairmount Project,
18 which is right next to the medical site, this
19 project has a federal grant reservation of
20 funds in the amount of eight million six hundred
21 fifty dollars. It is the area approximately
22 eighty-five acres. The final project report has
23 been submitted recently and a start of acquisition
24 activities is anticipated in the late summer of
25 1965, and I think which is well under way. After

redevelopment, this area will contain greatly expanded facilities of the wise industries, Newark City Hospital, new office building of the Essex County Jail, and the new construction of churches, a fire house as well as new construction of possibly, possibly twelve hundred fifty dwelling units on the 221 D-3 in apartment buildings and town houses and provisions of thirty-two thousand square feet floor area of neighborhood shopping facilities. I think it is interesting to note again, Mr. Chairman, that the administration has been able to move very swiftly for the Motor Club of America and developed some of the industrial sites in that area, but to my knowledge there is no development under way to construct a possible twelve hundred fifty dwelling units they talk about in that area.

NJR 121, which is the Industrial River project, which I think they call the Meadowland project, which Mr. Boring pointed out, would bring all the industry into Newark. This contains on the same six hundred seventy acres and has a Federal grant reservation of seven million nine hundred thousand dollars. In this project area, land will be devoted to industrial uses by

1 retention of the sound existing industries
2 and the removal of any non-industrial plants
3 in the area. The area can provide adequate
4 sites for shops and industrial-type floor
5 area and industrial-related structures.

6 Mr. Chairman, again we see one thousand
7 six hundred seventy-seven, seven million dollars
8 but no provision is for schools or housing.

9 NJR 123, which is the St. Benedict's
10 Project, this project is now in planning and it
11 contains thirty-five acres and has a Federal
12 grant reservation of one million six hundred
13 seventy-nine dollars. It is anticipated that
14 this project will go into execution in the
15 summer of 1966. Approximately one-third of the
16 project area will be redeveloped for the expense
17 of St. Benedict's Preparatory School. In the
18 balance of the area, many existing non-residential
19 enterprises will be retained. Substandard
20 structures will be cleared from the area and new
21 non-residential ones introduced into it. Now,
22 this simply means, Mr. Chairman, that on thirty-
23 five acres and with a grant of one million six
24 hundred seventy-nine dollars that the Negroes
25 living in this area were uprooted and moved out

1 to and the Catholic St. Benedict's Project,
2 a school, and also to provide non-residential
3 usages, again no housing for Negroes from that
4 area.

5 NJR 141, Essex Heights Second Stage Project,
6 this project with the Federal grant reservation
7 of four million nine hundred seventy-five thousand
8 dollars and covering some twenty-one acres is now
9 in planning. Start of execution activities is
10 anticipated in 1967. Re-uses in this project
11 will include the residential, commercial and
12 semi-public uses. However, the exact apportion-
13 ment of land between such uses is not yet deter-
14 mined since the project is in preliminary planning.
15 This simply means, Mr. Chairman, there is four
16 million nine hundred seventy-five thousand dollars,
17 twenty-one acres, no housing or schools for
18 Negroes.

19 St. Michael's Urban Renewal Project, an
20 application for a Federal grant reservation of
21 some twelve million, twelve point five million,
22 twelve million dollars, Mr. Chairman, has recently
23 been submitted for this project of eighty-five
24 acres. Start of execution activities is not
25 anticipated until late in 1967; after renewal,

1 this project will be a large-scale project in developing a center for
 2
 3 cultural activities in the City. This project
 4 will include the site of St. Michael's Hospital,
 5 Rutgers University, as well as the possibility
 6 of a new of Newark Museum and Newark Public
 7 Library. In addition to such existing two common
 8 uses, the area will incorporate one or more
 9 multiple parking garages, a complex of industrial
 10 establishment of a research type, a building for
 11 the elderly, financed through the Public Housing
 12 Administration. That is very vague there.
 13 Commercial development along Central Avenue,
 14 provision of major street and utility improvements,
 15 rehabilitation of certain existing residential
 16 and non-residential structures, etcetera, etcetera,
 17 more, Mr. Chairman, twelve million dollars and
 18 eighty-five acres and no provisions for schools
 19 or housing for poor people of the City of Newark.

20 South Broad Second Stage Project prelim-
 21 inary planning is now being constructed on this
 22 project of some fifty-five acres. It actually
 23 encompasses a construction and development of
 24 NJR 52, South Broad Street Project, and will
 25 include public housing as well as public elementary
 school and I don't know what they mean by that.

1 In addition to a large number of properties
2 will be retained and rehabilitated. Central
3 Ward Third Stage Project, I don't think that is
4 on show, Mr. Chairman, but it is related to it,
5 here. This area of some ninety acres is a
6 continuation of the development of project R 32,
7 Central Ward Third Stage Project and so on. It
8 will contain industrial, commercial and residential
9 uses. A large number of residential and non-
10 residential uses will also be retained and rehabili-
11 tated. Again, there is no specific plans for
12 developmental construction of any housing for
13 people in that area.

14 So, Mr. Chairman, that is a part of what
15 Mr. Danzig's urban renewal program has brought
16 to the City of Newark and, at best, as I can
17 ascertain that under these urban renewal projects
18 that are contemplated on that map, they will
19 represent some seven thousand one hundred dwell-
20 ing units, about five thousand four hundred in
21 the lower or moderate-income scale.

22 Now, because Mr. Danzig added a couple
23 of new projects that don't appear on this map,
24 we will add another thousand or so just to make
25 the Housing Authority happy, so we will say

1 eight thousand, nine thousand anticipated and
2 vaguely anticipated dwelling units. It should be
3 obvious to us, Mr. Chairman, that many of these
4 projects have been in various stages now from
5 one to five years and it should also be obvious,
6 Mr. Chairman, that the completion of all these
7 programs will perhaps take another five years or
8 longer.

9 To put this problem in its proper context,
10 Mr. Chairman, we must bear in mind that since
11 the '50's, let me put it another way, during the
12 1950's there had been a yearly increase of
13 approximately six thousand ninety-two Negroes
14 moving into Newark every year and in the '60's
15 that number has increased to almost ten thousand
16 new Negroes moving to the City of Newark every
17 year. It is this yearly influx of new citizens
18 and the Newark Housing Authority's past policy--
19 it is this yearly influx of new citizens and
20 the Newark Housing Authority's past policy of
21 demolishing hundreds of acres of housing and
22 letting them ride dormant, as this map will
23 visibly point out, that there are hundreds of
24 acres of land that have been demolished by the
25 Newark Housing Authority for projected projects

1 that lay dormant that the City gets no taxes
2 for, that are no use to the City. This has
3 perpetrated the old and created new ghettos
4 in Newark, Mr. Chairman.

5 It is these factors that have created
6 a haven for slum lords in Newark and a hell for
7 a number of poor people living in the not-
8 invested houses left in these areas.

9 Mr. Chairman, as it was pointed out in the
10 urban renewal progress report prepared by Mr.
11 [redacted]'s office, that thirty-four hundred dwelling
12 units contemplated in NJR 6, which is the old
13 Third Ward Project, would provide relocation
14 housing for families displaced in the Central
15 City area projects.

16 Obvious, these potential needs, Mr. Chairman,
17 were seen, a few years before any thought of a
18 Medical School was around. So, we can see, Mr.
19 Chairman, that one future seven or eight thousand
20 new housing units will not be enough to handle
21 the housing needs of our city. These seven or
22 eight thousand units will not adequately take
23 care of these newly-arriving citizens and those
24 Negroes that will have to be relocated in the
25 next five years. However, Mr. Chairman, this is

1 allproblematical. This is all problematical for
2 I am sure it could be debated that there may be
3 a few more than seven or eight thousand dwelling
4 units in the next five years, and I am sure that
5 it could be debated that this is not sufficient
6 to cover projected housing needs for Newark
7 citizens.

8 But, let us move on, Mr. Chairman, and get
9 on down to the nitty-gritty of this matter. As
10 I stand here tonight, I charge, Mr. Chairman,
11 that there is a conspiracy, a conspiracy afoot
12 to disrupt and dislocate tens of thousands of
13 black people and I charge, Mr. Chairman, that
14 there is a conspiracy to ghettoize the black
15 community of Newark and I cannot conceive that
16 the Newark Housing Authority's urban renewal
17 experts or the City Administration experts, or
18 even the gentlemen on the Planning Board are not
19 aware of this housing conspiracy. Mr. Chairman,
20 I don't think anybody could be so blind or so
21 insensitive as not to see what is happening to
22 the black people here in Newark.

23 Now, Mr. Chairman, I have made some most
24 serious charges here tonight. I have charged
25 that there is a systematic disruption of Negro

1 community life. I charge that there is

3 and show

4 For the record, Mr.

5 Chairman, let me just point out that based upon
6 the urban renewal progress report submitted by
7 the Newark Housing Authority, approximately ninety-
8 nine million dollars will be spent on urban
9 renewal in the near future.

10 As I pointed out, to the best of my
11 knowledge, when spending this ninety-nine
12 million dollars, I can see where we provide
13 for no more than seven or eight thousand dwelling
14 units. To get on down to what I am talking about,
15 Mr. Chairman, I would like to read an article
16 that appeared in the Newark Star Ledger on June 1,
17 of 1967. The headline, "Newark Gets Spur
18 Added to Route 75."

19 "A bill authorizing construction of a major
20 connecting highway in Newark was signed into
21 law yesterday by Governor Richard J. Hughes. This
22 highway, Route 16, will be two and one-half miles
23 long and will connect Route 230 near Roseville
24 Avenue with Route 78 near Belmont Avenue. Both
25 230 and 78 are part of the Federal Interstate

1 System. The estimated cost to construct Route
2 75 is thirty million dollars. The State and
3 Federal governments will share the cost equally.
4 Russell Mullen, Assistant State Transportation
5 Commissioner for Highways, said that acquisition
6 for right-of-way is schedule to start late in
7 the year with the first notices to property
8 owners expected to be mailed in a few weeks.
9 Appraisals, he said, will start this summer.
10 He did not expect to start construction, he
11 said, until the end of the availability of Federal
12 funds, but it is safe to say that construction
13 will not start for at least eighteen months."

14 Now, Mr. Chairman, what does that mean?
15 That means that the mid-term connector running
16 from one end of the city, from the Watson Avenue
17 over Johnson Avenue curve into the city, down
18 by Prince Street, and all in the general direction
19 over to Roseville Avenue, cutting through the
20 heart of the black community, will displace approx-
21 imately seventy-five thousand families. It means,
22 Mr. Chairman, that if that twenty and twenty-five
23 thousand more black people will be uprooted and
24 told to move. Twenty-five thousand more people
25 told to move, move to where? There is no plans

1 in Mr. Danzig's urban renewal program for these
2 twenty-five thousand people. There is no new
3 projected housing for them, Mr. Chairman.

4 Mr. Chairman, that is only part of it.
5 Let us move over a little to the south end. We
6 see coming down from Irvington, down Nye Avenue,
7 swerving over to Watson Avenue, another monstrosity,
8 another part of this conspiracy called Route 78
9 and I understand that they are already being
10 uplanded for this highway. This means, Mr. Chair-
11 man, that another ten thousand or more people there
12 will be uprooted, dislocated and told to move and
13 move to where? There are no plans in Mr. Danzig's
14 urban renewal project for these people.

15 Mr. Chairman, certainly this area where
16 many Negroes recently bought homes along Nye
17 Avenue, when these people--we know these pe
18 will not be able to go up in Vailsburg and buy
19 homes or into Hillside or many of our other
20 neighboring suburban areas and where is the poor
21 Negroes going to move to? Is urban renewal
22 planning for them? The answer is simply no,
23 Mr. Chairman.

24 Now, let us look a little further to the
25 north, Mr. Chairman, and we see another monstrosity.

1 which is almost completed coming down, which
2 is the East-West Freeway, which again will
3 disrupt thousands of more people. Again this
4 time whites and Negroes are being told to move.
5 Fortunately for many of our white brother, there
6 is some place for them to move, but there is no
7 place for the Negroes to move.

8 To summarize this problem, Mr. Chairman,
9 it is--it simply means that with the Medical
10 College, Route 78, Route 75, the East-West Freeway
11 and some of these other anticipated urban renewal
12 programs that anywhere between seventy and one
13 hundred thousand black people will be uprooted
14 and told to move in the next five years, Mr.
15 Chairman. At seventy thousand, let us take
16 the lower figure, but that is between seventy
17 thousand and one hundred thousand black people
18 in the next five years will in one way or
19 another be uprooted and dislocated. At sixty
20 or seventy thousand people, do we know what
21 that means, Mr. Chairman? That means that in
22 the next five years or so, between thirty-
23 five and forty percent--

24 MISS THAYER: May I raise a point of
25 information, please?

1 MR. RICHARDSON: I'll relinquish the
2 platform just for this point of information.
3 Yield for this.

4 MISS TAYLOR: One point of information
5 I would like to know, Mr. Richardson. You have
6 pointed out here all of these areas that you
7 called Negro. Now, do you really think that
8 this is a plan to box in the Negroes in this
9 area? I'm directing it to the Chair.

10 MR. BOOMER: I can't answer a question
11 that Mr. Richardson--

12 MISS TAYLOR: To the Chair through Mr.
13 Richardson.

14 MR. BOOMER: You will have an opportunity
15 to get the answer.

16 MISS TAYLOR: I would like to have the
17 answer now because this is pertinent to inform-
18 ation to the audience about the Negro removal.

19 MR. BOOMER: We are not permitting.
20 We are not permitting you to interrupt the
21 speaker on the floor. Let him finish the talk.

22 MISS TAYLOR: I want a point of inform-
23 ation.

24 MR. MOORE: If I may, Mr. Chair-
25 would like to quote from Roberts and

1 something has happened here, a request for
2 information, a request for information relating
3 to the pending business is treated just as a
4 parliamentary inquiry. It has the same privileges.
5 The inquirer rises and says, Mr. Chairman, I
6 rise for information, or I rise for a point of
7 information, whereupon--

8 MR. BOONER: You are out of order, sir.

9 MISS TAYLOR: I want a point of informa-
10 tion.

11 MR. MOORE: Where he states his point of
12 information and directs him to state the point
13 upon which he desires information and the
14 procedure continues in the case of a parliamentary
15 inquiry if the information is desired to the
16 speaker instead of the chair, the inquirer upon
17 rising says, Mr. Chairman, I should like to ask
18 the gentleman a question--

19 MR. BOONER: The Chair rules that you
20 ~~are not~~ r, you are not following our
21 procedure. We are not following Roberts Rules.
22 We have laid down the rules.

23 MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, I submit and
24 ~~the same~~ time in the proceedings
25 the same connotation.

1 MR. BOGNER: We agreed it is a courtesy
2 not by any rules. You are out of order and

3
4 MR. MOORE: This you ruled was a--

5 MR. BOGNER: Take your seat. I rule that
6 you are out of order.

7 MISS TAYLOR: I want a point of inform-
8 ation. This is very important.

9 MR. MOORE: This is very serious business.
10 No greater body than the Senate of the United
11 States allows this type of inquiry of the
12 Vice President or the President, if he is speak-
13 ing, even if he is speaking he may be interrupted
14 for a point of information, and you, Mr. Chairman,
15 sit there and say that you will not allow a point
16 of clarifying information from the people who
17 are affected here? They have a vested interest
18 in these proceedings.

19 MR. BOGNER: We have permitted you to
20 have one person to speak as an expert.

21 MR. MOORE: This is not in the area of an
22 expert speaker. These are people who are in the
23 area, living there.

24 MR. BOGNER: There is an expert speaker
25

1 S. TAYLOR: I am a citizen of Newark
2 and I want some information.

3 MR. BOOKER: You are out of order.

4 MISS TAYLOR: When can I get the inform-
5 ation?

6 MR. BOOKER: You can ask for the inform-
7 ation.

8 MISS TAYLOR: I would like it right now
9 because I'll probably forget it then.

10 MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, at this point--

11 [REDACTED] Mr. Moore, I ruled that
12 you are out of order.

13 MR. MOORE: Then I appeal the ruling of
14 the Chair, which is the right of the citizenry
15 in a Town Hall Meeting of this type, that I
16 appeal the ruling of the Chairman.

17 [REDACTED]: The Chair denies your
18 appeal.

19 MR. MOORE: You have no legal right to
20 deny my appeal. You cannot do that, Mr. Chair-
21 [REDACTED]
22 [REDACTED]
23 that is the least you can do. Don't make a
24 fool out of yourself and us, too. That is what
25 [REDACTED]

1 MR. BOCKNER: I ask you to take your seat.

2 MR. MOORE: Mr. Chair.

3 MR. BOCKNER: The Chair has made a ruling.

4 MR. MOORE: I have appealed the ruling of
5 the Chair and this type of proceeding, which
6 is based on the Y. M. C. A. ruling, I have
7 the right to appeal.

8
9 a part of this meeting.

10 MR. BOCKNER: You have been overruled,

11
12 MR. MOORE: Then I again appeal the ruling
13 of the Chair, and you have no right at this point
14 to rule whether I am in order or not. I appeal
15 your ruling, sir.

16 MR. BOCKNER: Unless the meeting is conduct-
17 ed by rules set forth by the Planning Board--

18 MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, I remind you
19 where no rules are either written or stated to
20 the contrary, then Roberts Rules will prevail.

21 MR. BOCKNER: They were before the meeting
22 started--

23 MR. MOORE: Would you read the rule that
24 pertains to a point of information and how the
25 Chair will conduct itself in this instance?

1 You, Mr. Chairman, have stated that this is
2 a part of the rulings that you have now. Will
3 you do it, sir?

4 MR. BOOKER: Sir, the Chair has passed
5 on a ruling.

6 MR. MOORE: If there are no established
7 rules, you are contradicting yourself, but if
8 you will--I am now holding to the one point you
9 made that there are no established rules, and
10 Roberts Rules prevail, and that is the law of
11 the land, Mr. Chairman.

12 MR. BOOKER: We made a ruling at the
13 beginning of the meeting and these are the rules
14 set forth at this meeting. Would you take your
15 seat, please, and let the meeting continue?

16 MR. MOORE: At this point--

17 MR. BOOKER: Sir, you are out of order.
18 Can we continue?

19 MR. MOORE: I am not out of order. I
20 have a ruling--

21
22 are out of order. You are out of order. Please
23 sit down.

24 MR. MOORE: You have no basis for it,
25 Mr. Chairman. You have no basis. How can you,

1 Mr. Chairman, What is your precedent for ruling
2 me out of order on a point of parliamentary
3 procedure? What is your precedent? Are you
4 quoting Congress?

5 MR. BOCKER: The Chair has set the rules
6 for a meeting that we have set the guidelines
7 by.

8 MR. WHEELER: Then read the guidelines,
9 read the guideline that pertains to a point
10 of information. We will be guided by it.

11 MR. MOORE: If you have them, then read
12 us the rules pertaining to a point of
13 information or a point of--

14 MR. BOCKER: Sir, this is not a judicial
15 body. We have rules. We ask you to take your
16 seat.

17 MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman,
18 sir--

19 MR. BOCKER: Will you yield the floor?

20 MR. MOORE: No, sir, until there has been
21 a proper ruling on this point of information and
22 you have ruled me out of order, Mr. Chairman,
23 which you have not--which you have no right to
24 do. You absolutely have no right or point of
25 order on a point of information to rule me out

1 of order on or any other sticker.

2 Now, if you have rules written that
3 pertain to this hearing, then produce them. If
4 you have not, Mr. Chairman, I submit that Roberts
5 Rules of Order prevail.

6 MR. WHEELER: That's right.

7 MR. BOONER: Sir, you are incorrect. We
8 have read the rules. We ask you to take your
9 seat.

10 MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, I will not

11
12 In fact, Mr. Chairman, at this point, I am
13 asking the Chairman to disqualify himself for
14 being mentally incompetent to sit in the chair

15
16 MR. BOONER: We are going on. You are
17 ruled out of order. You will have your oppor-
18 tunity to speak.

19 Mr. Chairman, you cannot rule
20 me out of order. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman, you
21 cannot rule me out of order. You do not have that
22 prerogative. You have stated on two different
23 points, first that you had rules, then you say--

24 Sir, if the Chair is wrong,

25 recourse. We have ruled that

1 you are out of order.

2 Mr. Chairman--

3
4 MR. MOORE: You cannot refuse the appeal.

5 MR. Chairman, relief must
6 be provided in the matter and it is contained
7 in the appeal.

8 MR. BOOKER: Can we have the microphone
9 cleared so we can proceed?

10 MISS TAYLOR: I want a point of inform-
11 ation. All I want is a point of information,
12 please.

13 MR. BOOKER: Can we have the microphone
14 cleared so that we might continue with the
15 meeting?

16 MR. MOORE: There is a point of order
17 here. The Chairman has ruled. The Chairman
18 has ruled it illegal and I am appealing the
19 ruling of the Chair. This is a vested right in
20 a citizen participating in this type of a
21 meeting.

22 MR. BOOKER: You are above the rule.

23 MR. MOORE: I appeal your ruling and you
24 must give me this right.

25 MR. BOOKER: Will you please relinquish

1 the microphone?

2 We will take a recess.

3 (Recess taken.)

4 MR. BOOKER: The meeting will now come
5 to order.

6 Mr. Richardson, will you come back to the
7 microphone and finish your speech?

8 MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, at the point
9 of disruption, at the point when there was a
10 conference between you--

11 MR. BOOKER: You are out of order. Will
12 you please leave the microphone?

13 MR. MOORE: I must state, Mr. Chairman,
14 that I am standing on my constitutional rights
15 as a citizen of this City, the State and this
16 Country, operating under the prevailing rules
17 of parliamentary procedure and I insist, Mr.
18 Chairman, that I am not out of order.

19 MR. BOOKER: The Chair rules that you
20 are out of order, sir.

21 MR. MOORE: Then, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Chairman,
22 when I say to you that I am again appealing
23 the ruling of the Chair for the record, Mr.
24 Chairman.

25 MR. WALKER: You cannot do that.

1 MR. MOORE: I state again, Mr. Chairman,
2 that you have absolutely no right to rule me
3 out of order on appeal of the Chair.

4 MR. WHEELER: You have no right.

5 MR. BOOKER: You are out of order.

6 MR. MOORE: Mr. Chairman, I would suggest
7 that you are going to have to order that police-
8 men, the police department to remove me.

9 (A disturbance ensued and Mr. Moore
10 was led from the meeting room by members of
11 the Newark Police Department.)

12 MR. BOOKER: The Chair recognizes Mr.
13 Richardson.

14 MISS TAYLOR: I want my point of inform-
15 ation.

16 MR. BOOKER: You are out of order.

17 MISS TAYLOR: I want a point of inform-
18 ation. Since I am a citizen of this City and
19 my property is involved, I want a point of
20 information.

21 MR. BOOKER: Mr. Richardson, will you
22 take the microphone?

23 MR. WHEELER: Mr. Chairman--

24 MR. BOOKER: The Chair recognizes Mr.
25 Richardson who has the floor, no-one else.

1 MR. WHEELER: Mr. Chairman, a point of
2 special privilege, Mr. Chairman.

3 MR. BOOMER: The Chair recognizes Mr.
4 Richardson, no-one else.

5 MR. WHEELER: Mr. Chairman, a point of
6 special privilege. I am a member of the body
7 that is to adjust the Planning Board. Therefore,
8 I am an integral part of the meeting and as a
9 member of that meeting, I am asking for a point
10 of special privilege, Mr. Chairman.

11 MR. BOOMER: I have not called you to
12 the microphone. When I do, you will have an
13 opportunity to speak then.

14 MR. WHEELER: It has nothing to do with
15 your calling me to the microphone. It has to
16 do with my basic rights as an integral part
17 of this Planning Board hearing. As a member
18 listed to speak under your so-called guidelines
19 at this point I am asking for a point of
20 special privilege.

21 MR. BOOMER: The Chair denies it at this
22 time.

23 MISS TAYLOR: I want my point of informa-
24 tion.

25 MR. WHEELER: Mr. Chairman, a point of

1 | special privilege takes precedence over any
2 | type motion that is on the--that could be on
3 | the floor.

4 | MR. BOOKER: Will you take your seat so
5 | we can continue with the meeting? You will have
6 | an opportunity to speak.

7 | MR. WHEELER: I have already been granted
8 | an opportunity to speak. I am now asking for
9 | a point of special privilege.

10 | MR. BOOKER: Mr. Richardson will finish
11 | his talk, with his speech at this time. The
12 | Chair does not recognize you, Mr. Wheeler.

13 | MR. WHEELER: Mr. Richardson, will you
14 | yield to me on a point of special privilege?

15 | MR. RICHARDSON: Yes.

16 | MR. WHEELER: The speaker on the floor
17 | has yielded to me on a point of special priv-
18 | ilege. May I continue?

19 | MR. BOOKER: Mr. Richardson, will you
20 | come to the

21 | MR. WHEELER: Are you yielding to me
22 | for a point of information?

23 | MR. BOOKER: The Chair asked Mr. Richardson
24 | to come to the Microphone.

25 | MR. WHEELER: Will you tell him, please?

MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman, I yield

1 on a point of special privilege only.

2 MR. BOOKER: You yield the microphone
3 for this time?

4 MR. WHEELER: That isn't what Mr. Richard-
5 son said.

6 MR. BOOKER: The Chair is asking. Do
7 you yield that microphone at this time?

8 MR. RICHARDSON: No, I only yield for
9 the point of order.

10 MR. BOOKER: If you finished with your
11 speech, we will go to the next order of business.
12 We will call the next speaker.

13 MR. WHEELER: For the record, I wish to
14 state--

15 MR. BOOKER: The Chair says that you are
16 out of order, Mr. Wheeler.

17 MR. WHEELER: The meeting is now being
18 conducted under protest and that tomorrow there
19 will be instituted a suit against this body on
20 the basis of this body refusing, in lacking, in
21 having proper ruling, in your failure and refusal
22 to accept Roberts Rules of Order in the conducting
23 of this meeting.

24 MR. BOOKER: Thank you. You made your
25 point.

1 MR. WHEELER: What you have done, Mr.
2 Chairman, the most serious offense of all is to
3 deny the citizenry of Newark their constitutional
4 rights.

5 MR. RICHARDSON.

6 MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman, it is
7 obvious from your actions and the attitude of
8 those conducting this meeting that you simply
9 haven't heard what I have said, that you
10 simply don't understand the gravity of what is
11 happening to tens of thousands of black people
12 and you asking us to be gentlemen, play by the
13 rules that you have set up and at the same time
14 that you disrupt our whole community life, run
15 us all about the city? I'm not talking about
16 a few, we are talking about seventy, eighty
17 thousand black people. You are talking about
18 moving them and I can't understand, the people
19 are supposed to be upset about this, that they
20 are supposed to be concerned about their
21 children, that they are supposed to be concerned
22 about their wives and families being uprooted
23 and uplited and spread it all over the city
24 at the whim and will of some so-called experts?
25 this is what these people are disturbed about.

1 This isn't talking about relocating seven
2 hundred people at the Medical School as
3 necessary and come up with those figures. We
4 are talking about relocating seventy or eighty
5 thousand black people, man, don't you understand
6 that?

7 A VOICE: We want downtown, baby, not
8 the Central Ward, downtown.

9 MR. RICHARDSON: Don't you understand
10 what it means when you talk about relocating
11 thirty-five or forty percent of the population?
12 Don't you understand what it means when you
13 talk of moving thirty-five percent of a total
14 people and disrupting their family life? Where
15 is the concern for these seventy thousand people?
16 You tell us these people sit down and be orderly,
17 be nice people and at the same time you are
18 uprooting their whole damn life and you expect
19 them to be nice and be orderly and go about these
20 rules that you set up to destroy us? That is
21 what you are doing.

22 Now, Mr. Chairman, we can't conceive that
23 the Newark Housing Authority or the Planning
24 Board or the City Administration don't know what's
25 going on. You can't sit there and tell me you

1 don't know any damn things about these
2 that's coming through here and you sit there and
3 fiddle-di-diddle-de talk about seventy hundred
4 thirty people that you are removing over in
5 that Med site. You blind and you trying to blind
6 us. You're going to ignore them damn highways.
7 You are going to make like they don't exist, they
8 ain't coming through and the man tell us they
9 starting to buy that property up this summer,
10 yet you're sitting up there on your behind and
11 we can easily locate seven hundred thirty people.
12 That's not what we are talking about, brother,
13 we are talking about seventy, eighty thousand
14 people. Nobody is going to tell me you can
15 relocate that many people. You have never
16 even dreamed of the gravity of this situation.
17 Let me said, Mr. Chairman, that if thirty-five
18 or forty percent of any people, any minority
19 people, whether they were in Europe or whether
20 they were in Israel, but if you disrupt forty
21 percent of their community, the whole Free World
22 would be up in arms. What you talking about is
23 doing removing and uprooting forty percent of
24 us and nobody seems to even care. You are telling
25 these folks, be nice, be gentlemen, now you have

1 to go by the rules that you set up that don't
2 go by the standard rules that the society set
3 up to conform with. Though, Mr. Denzig sits
4 back there and talks about, oh, we can ably
5 relocate sevenhundred thirty people, he even
6 have the public relations mill turning out
7 articles, family relocations routine for Newark
8 Housing Authority. Now, you sit there and tell
9 me it is routine for you to relocate eighty
10 thousand people and that is what we talking
11 about. You may claim that the highways ain't
12 your jurisdiction. We don't give a damn whose
13 jurisdiction it is, they are moving people.

14 the highway don't assume the responsibility,
15 somebody has to assume that responsibility.

16 Here Mr. Denzig writes an article, a
17 relocation of seventy thousand families from
18 the Medical School site in the Newark Central
19 Ward does not present an unusual crowd. In
20 view of the poor record of relocation by the
21 Newark Housing Authority. The Authority will
22 assume the responsibility of finding new quarters
23 for people displaced from
24 site southeast of Newark City Hospital, relocate
25 about one thousand families a year, according to

1 the Newark Housing Authority records.

2 Now, Mr. Chairman, I have been a lifelong
3 member of this City of Newark and as a political
4 figure, I would say that hundreds of people have
5 come to me in attempt to get into the Housing
6 Authority. I have had people come that have
7 been burnt out and there is such a long deggone
8 waiting list that only under certain conditions
9 can you get people in there and if they have
10 very large families, you can't even get them
11 in there. I know of cases where poor people
12 paid somebody to get a unit in that Housing
13 Authority that they tell me they relocated
14 thousands of people a year. They have a waiting
15 list of over four thousand people.

16 Points are here, a spokesman for the
17 Mayor said five interns from the State Department
18 of Community Affairs would be working with the
19 State Division on Civil Rights in the Medical
20 School relocation task. That is fine, Mr.
21 Chairman, but these five interns should have
22 been here way long time ago when the idea of
23 a Medical School was first conceived. They
24 should have been working in the Negro community
25 then to find out if the Negro community wanted

1 this dislocation. They should have been here
2 to find out if the Negro community wanted that
3 Medical School. Don't send us any interns or
4 professionals after the fact. After these
5 experts decide that that is what we are going
6 to have to swallow, then you are going to send
7 us some experts to salve us and soothe us,
8 assure us how this is going to be good for us.
9 You can't show me how a medical school where
10 ten black children ain't going to go is going
11 to be good for us.

12 Mr. Warren said the Housing Authority
13 records show that more than twelve thousand
14 families have been assisted in moving the last
15 sixteen years. That seems to be a good record,
16 but we are not talking about twelve thousand,
17 we are talking about seventy thousand folks.
18 Now, we know all you have to do is look at the
19 lower part of the South Ward and see all those
20 big apartments on Johnson Avenue and Milford
21 Avenue. That is when the whites moved out that
22 you had small families, that these apartments
23 were made for small families, that they were made for small families,
24 that they were made for small families.

25 Now, they are not bad apartments, don't

1 make no business about that. They are not bad
2 at all. They are good to relocate people with
3 one or two children. When you put seven or eight
4 people in one, you create crowded ghetto. That
5 is what Mr. Wright's urban renewal has done for
6 you.

7 Then they go on and talk about this
8 direct relocation payments, up to a maximum
9 of forty dollars a week. I ask Mr. Chairman,
10 what time is money doing in the housing ghetto
11 for black people that can't understand what's
12 happening to them. You simply blackmailing your
13 little forty dollars to get them out of that
14 area to build that monstrosity that you deem
15 necessary. That is what you're doing to us.

16 Now, Mr. Chairman, I suggest again that
17 whenever the Housing Authority, Mr. Smith,
18 or you people coming up on that David Jones
19 case, that's going on. I suggest that you could
20 not be, you know, concerned or biased, and surely
21 you are not stupid.

22 Mr. Chairman, I suggest that it is none
23 of these things, but rather I suggest that it
24 is a part of this complex, and whether you are
25 to it quietly or whether you are part of it, you

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black community.
What you are doing with us, Mr. Chairman, you
are playing musical chairs with the Negro
community. You are keeping them on the move.
What you are doing is destroying his political
potential, Mr. Chairman, and we know why, we
know why this is being done and you know why
it is being done. It is being done to maintain
the white control of the City of Newark. This
is being done to wreck his family life, Mr.
Chairman, and as I said, Mr. Chairman, this is
a conspiracy of those in power to maintain that
control.

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Mr. Chairman, I cannot conceive what the
speaking of doing showed people will do to our
school system. They are not wanting our children
to go into a Medical School. It is not really
wanting our children to be ~~black~~ men
in that Medical School. You are going to
build that medical school for us and we ain't
going to use it. What it will do will add to
our welfare rolls, increase our tax structure
and bring a city that is already on the threshold
to disaster even further along that road. Can't

1 you see, Mr. Chairman, they are trying
2 to do to us? Now, if that doesn't open your
3 eyes, Mr. Chairman, let us throw some-
4 else on the table. There was an article in
5 Friday, June 9, the Star Ledger, which I
6 assume was a public relations gimmick to try
7 to make the Mayor look like a fool like
8 where the Mayor asked for a Housing Bias Study.
9 The headline say his programs can stand any
10 test. I just like to know how many Negroes
11 live on his street up there in Vailsburg.

12 Mr. Chairman, this article points out
13 that Mayor Hugh H. Addonizio asked the National
14 Commission against Discrimination in Housing
15 yesterday to review all housing and urban
16 renewal and relocation policies in Newark to
17 ensure fairness for all and open housing market
18 and metropolitan integration. This three para-
19 graph would lead me to believe that the Mayor
20 didn't know what's going on in Newark, that he
21 has to bring in some outside National group to
22 study whether there is discrimination in our
23 urban renewal programs and in our relocation
24 policy and whether there is fairness in those
25 programs. We don't need any outsiders to do that.

1 There has been questions about housing
2 and relocation in Newark raised by some persons
3 and I believe the community deserves an answer
4 from an independent agency, an independent
5 agency with an unimpeachable record in fair
6 housing and civil rights.

7 Let me add here, right now, Mr. Chairman,
8 if that group is an independent agency, they
9 will not come into Newark to get involved in
10 this fight. He pointed out that he believed that
11 they would do their best to make the process as difficult
12 as possible. If not, he says we will insure that
13 changes are made to such measures as are recommended,
14 he said. He pointed out that
15 they will come with the whole battle and that do
16 the way the City wants it. In the proposal,
17 the City suggested that a nationwide drive be
18 initiated to attract civil housing opportunities
19 in surrounding areas as well as the city itself
20 and that the City would help coordinate this
21 effort. What good does it do to solve the
22 problems of discrimination in the city and then
23 finally confronting us in the suburbs, Mr.
24 Addonizio points out. If we are to avoid
25 the problem of discrimination in the suburbs, we must,

1 we must get busy with suburban segregation,
2 he said. The Mayor said complaints in regard
3 to relocation to the Medical School site were
4 a factor certainly, but not the entire story
5 requesting the NCDHS to come to Newark. To
6 build a solid front for progress, he said we
7 need public confidence in what we are doing.
8 The NCDHS is one of the organizations that
9 can help bring a consensus on what should be
10 done, who should do it and how it should be done,
11 the Mayor said.

12 Mr. Chairman, I agree wholeheartedly that
13 the community needs to know, but I will point
14 out that the role of no other national organiza-
15 tion is going to come to Newark and convince
16 us that the uprooting of the seventy thousand
17 Negroes is not a conspiracy. He points out
18 that solving the problems of Negroes involved
19 in the city, that we must move on to the suburbs
20 as if that is a fact in Newark. I don't have
21 to sit here and tell you that you know doggone
22 well that Negroes can't move up in Vailsburg,
23 and with certain areas of the North Ward,
24 excluding maybe the housing projects and some of
25 the ghettos along Oriental Street and Broadway,

1
2 we can't move, so let us not worry about the
3 suburbs, let Mr. Addonizio worry about making
4 Newark an open city. That is what we want to
5 talk about, Mr. Chairman.

6 Mr. Chairman, I want to say to you that
7 this discrimination, as far as Vailsburg is
8 concerned, and as far as the North Ward is
9 concerned, is just about par for the course.
10 We expect this sort of thing because there is
11 nothing new about Negroes aren't being concerned
12 with all over this country.

13 Mr. Chairman, I submit to you that there
14 is now in the process an even more hideous
15 crime being perpetrated against the black
16 people in Newark, and the Mayor talks about
17 desegregation. You could never imagine what's
18 taking place in this city if you didn't see it
19 with your own eyes and we are going to show
20 it to you.

21 Mr. Chairman, we have heard of the Warsaw
22 Ghetto. We have heard how they crowded the Jews
23 in ghettos and how they finally extermin-
24 ated them. We have heard of people being walled
25 in in ghettos in Europe during the war. We have

1 seen the people oppressed and persecuted
2 in these walled-in ghettos and it is unbeliev-
3 able, unthinkable, Mr. Chairman, that this could
4 ever happen in this country, let alone could
5 it ever happen in the City of Newark.

6 Mr. Chairman, I stand here today and
7 tell you that is exactly what is happening to
8 the majority of the black people here in the
9 City of Newark. For sure, Mr. Chairman, not
10 that the same type of concrete walls of the
11 Warsaw Ghetto or the European Ghetto, but
12 nevertheless, a ghetto just like they closed
13 the Jews off from society, they are attempting
14 to close the black man off from society.

15 But this, Mr. Chairman, is the more devious
16 war, a more sophisticated war, a more deceptive
17 war, but nevertheless a war. And it is not an
18 invisible war, Mr. Chairman, it is a war of
19 highways. If you look at this map here, Mr.
20 Chairman, and if you look to the west, we see
21 the Garden State Parkway coming across. If you
22 look here to the north, we see the East-West
23 Freeway coming down. If you look here to the
24 south, you see Route 78 coming down. If you
25 look down here to the east, you see the Midtown

1 Connector coming down.

2 Mr. Chairman, what you are simply doing
3 is walling off and boxing in because God knows
4 we cannot get across that Garden State Parkway
5 right now and we will not be able to get across
6 that East-West Freeway and we will not be able
7 to get across Route 75 to move into Hillside.
8 What you are doing is making a ghetto for
9 black people to live in. This is hard to
10 believe. This is hard to believe and if you
11 just don't stand there and look at it, you
12 can never believe that this sort of doggone
13 thing can happen to you. Maybe it is an
14 accident, maybe this is just poor planning.
15 I don't know what you could call it.

16 MR. BOOKER: Mr. Richardson, you have
17 been on the floor since eight o'clock.

18 MR. WHEELER: Don't stop talking.

19 MR. BOOKER: Do you have another point
20 of information regarding the blight notation?
21 If not, we will listen to the next speaker.

22 MISS TAYLOR: I want--

23 MR. RICH : I am speaking. This is
24 genuine. This is a genuine point. The progress
25 of relocation of the city to show how the relocation

1 could encompass the city. I am simply stating
2 here, Mr. Chairman, trying to prove that what
3 Mr. De... g said is not a fact and this is
4 germane to what I am talking about. I am
5 talking about urban renewal. I am talking
6 about highways. I am talking about dislocating
7 seventy thousand Negroes and you cannot tell
8 me that is not germane to this blight hearing,
9 Mr. Chairman.

10 MR. BOOKER: Mr. Richardson, you can't
11 tie up the rest of the meeting.

12 MR. RICHARDSON: Wait a minute, Mr.
13 Chairman, I want to bring on the information
14 that we have developed here this evening that
15 if you would dare try to cut off this sort
16 of information while I am standing here telling
17 you they relocating seventy thousand people
18 instead of seven hundred thirty families when
19 I am standing here telling you they boxing
20 in forty percent of the Negro community, and
21 you're telling me I have got five minutes and
22 you are telling me this is not germane
23 to this hearing, Mr. Chairman, as long as I
24 am revealing facts, that is pertinent to this
25 blight hearing, that is pertinent to urban

1 renewal, that is pertinent to what happens
2 to this Negro community, I intend to stand here
3 and give this facts. If you won't listen, we
4 are not going to stand here and let nobody
5 know about it. Mr. Chairman, this is obviously
6 the creation of a new kind of ghetto and you
7 ought to be concerned about this because they
8 are making you a part of this thing, whether
9 you like it or not. You can sit there and you
10 can say you don't have nothing to do with
11 highways. You can say the highways don't
12 come in our jurisdiction. We don't have to
13 worry about relocating the people from the
14 Midtown Connector or the East-West Freeway.
15 You want to give up that responsibility. What's
16 going to happen to those people, those people?
17 You have got to assume that responsibility
18 because these are Newark people. You have to
19 hear what I am saying. This is the problem.
20 This is not seven hundred thirty people. This
21 sounds hard. It is almost inconceivable that
22 this could be by any stretch of the imagination,
23 Mr. Chairman. We have to say to ourselves who
24 is going to take care of these people?
25 some little scheme. I would even go along with

1 it if you are going
2 hundred thirty No
3 us before. That is
4 about now. You are
5 and uprooting forty percent of the Negro
6 community. We cannot stand here and let that
7 without opening your eyes and opening
8 the Planning Board's eyes and opening Mr.
9 Danzig's eyes, opening the Mayor Addonizio's
10 eyes, and above all, we intend to open the
11 Negro community eyes to what's happening to
12 them. As I look at this map, Mr. Chairman, I
13 just can't see how something like this could
14 happen. I can't conceive that it could happen
15 by accident or by mistake. I can't conceive that
16 this could even happen by poor planning. That
17 I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this is
18 a part of the game of the musical chairs. This
19 is part of the game of keeping Negroes moving
20 all over the city, where they can't become
21 stable, where they can't really generate a
22 family life, where the children are moved
23 from one school to another every year. Where
24 they move from
25 we find those

1 what they are doing to us and we cannot
2 here and let this happen to us. We have to
3 awaken you to this fact. Even many of our
4 Legislators have been--have become opposed to
5 this sort of thing.

6 Dr. King stood up there and opposed that.
7 Ronnie Owens abstained from voting on it.
8 Most of the Republican Legislators opposed this.
9 You have to see what they are attempting to do
10 to us and we have got to open our eyes not only
11 to what I just told you, because it is obvious
12 to me that not only are we being deluded, but
13 this Planning Board is being deluded. They
14 have you sitting up there thinking that you
15 are dealing with some little old small problem,
16 some little old something that don't affect
17 but a few people. Something that affects maybe
18 seven hundred fifty families or something that
19 affects moving thousands of people, as Mr. Danzig
20 said, he can relocate, but the magnitude of this
21 problem is far, far greater than that, Mr.
22 Chairman. They are talking about disrupting
23 this whole city. You are not talking about
24 forty percent of the black community
25 disrupting and destroying this city.

1 you think you are safe
2 or if you think you
3 North Ward, if you think you are going to be
4 safe down here on Broad and Market Street when
5 you create this upheaval in the black community,
6 you are not going to be safe. You have to be
7 concerned about this problem. You have to
8 learn what's going on, baby. I think it is
9 time that you got to get education of what
10 urban renewal is, if you don't know.

11 Urban renewal is not this sort of
12 thing here. This don't call for bringing
13 all these highways through the heart of the
14 Negro community. It don't call for dislocating
15 seventy thousand people. It don't call for
16 dislocating forty percent of the population.
17 That is not urban renewal.

18 I suggest, Gentlemen, that you have to
19 find out what urban renewal is. You have to
20 know what urban renewal is so you don't let
21 these guys hoodwink and put something over on
22 your eyes. You don't let the administration
23 come to you with some program and convince
24 you that this is for the good of the community.
25 They hoodwinking you and you're in turn hoodwinking

ing all of us, but we have
to stop that, Mr. Chairman. You are talking
about the book by Robert C. Weaver, who is
one of the foremost experts on urban renewal,
second to none, not even Mr. Danzig, who talks
about dilemmas of urban Americans. He is not
talking about dilemmas of urban Americans. He
is talking about Newark, New Jersey. That
he is talking about. He ought to
learn something about this book. We heard
all about Mr. Danzig's background, what a
great background he has in urban renewal.
Mr. Weaver, since 1961, has been administrator
of Housing and Home Finance Agency. The highest
urban and housing official of the Federal
government. He had previously served as
Administrator of the New York State Housing
Renting Commission. Vice Chairman of the
Housing and Redevelopment Board of the City of
New York. Chairman of the Board of Directors
of the National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People, and I know many other
governmental, civic and academic positions.
He is the author of Negro Labor, a National
Problem, in 1946. The Negro Ghetto in 1948.

Harvard College in 1929 and received a Harvard

several para

I would like to cite out

of Urban Newark, pointed out very sharply what is happening to people here in Newark. This is something that we must wake up. We must absorb this. We must tell people what is going on.

It is a problem of racial policy. He describes what is going to be made toward reducing race where a factor where people live. He gives the reasons why this progress has not been rapid.

He demonstrates the desirable facts, the desirable objective. For example, he treats fully the question of racial integration and objectives of providing more housing for the poor. The author insists that the dilemma has multiple problems of urban development, has to be attacked through a balanced

many elements, many

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7 you sought to tell the
8 Newark community that you are going to relocate
9 seventy thousand black people and that we
10 have to develop urban renewal programs. Throw
11 this map away and show housing for seventy
12 thousand people. This is what Mr. Weaver
13 is talking about here in this book. When he
14 says urban development is complicated not only
15 by explosive factors of race, class and power,
16 but also by sheer numbers and at the end of
17 World War II, the population of the United
18 States was 140 million and in 1965 it passed
19 195 million. We are sure to hit 200 million
20 sometime in 1967, and I don't have to point
21 out to you that the Negro community has
22 increased twofold in the City of Newark. Before
23 we know it, the turn of the century, Newark
24 is going to be seventy percent Negro. We have
25 to provide for this fact. We have to openly

1 face and not try to destroy
2 them and move them about and play musical
3 s and try to maintain the control by the
4 white power structure you have now because you
5 are not going to be able to do this.

6 so ably points out in this
7 book.

8 MR. BOOKER: Mr. Richardson, the Chair
9 has been very lenient. You have been on for
10 two hours now. Mr. Richardson, this is a blight

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14 MR. BOOKER: You have been two hours on
15 this floor.

16 A VOICE: We have developed a man. Leave
17 him alone.

18 MR. RICHARDSON: Let me just add one thing.
19 Number one, if there is--that there is no limit
20 on time that I am permitted to speak. Mr.
21 Chairman, let me point out this one factor now,
22 you said I spoke for two hours or whatever you
23 said I spoke, but it is two hours too long to
24 ask when you trying on to save seventy thousand
25 people, man, I wouldn't care if I had to stand

1 here all night, if that is what it took to
2 wake you up. As long as I am in here, I know
3 what's going on in ive to the
4 Planning Board, tive to urban renewal,
5 relative to moving Negroes around the City,
6 Mr. Chairman, I think I have a perfect right
7 to stand here and enlighten you and enlighten
8 this Planning Board.

9 Mr. Chairman, Chapter I, Urbanization,
10 which certainly applies here to the City of
11 Newark--

12 MR. BOOKER: The Chair moves that you
13 are out of order. Mr. Richardson, the Chair
14 rules that you are out of order in that the
15 statements that you are making are not germane.

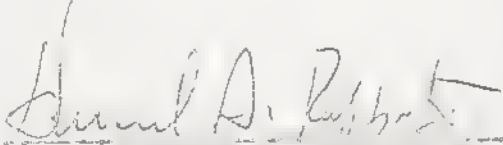
16 MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman, first
17 if all you are going to tell me that you are
18 going to submit an application to Mr. Weaver's
19 department and what Mr. Weaver has to say is
20 not germane, what Mr. Weaver is saying is
21 directly germane to what you are trying to do
22 and that's what I am talking about. Let me go
23 on and finish. Mr. Weaver points out--

24 MR. BOOKER: You are out of order.

25 Seven out of ten people--

(At this
the hearing was then taken by another Reporter.)

I, HOWARD A. RAPPAPORT, a Certified
Shorthand Reporter and Notary Public of the State
of New Jersey, do hereby certify that the foregoing
is a true and accurate transcript of the
stenographic notes taken by me at the within
hearing.



Certified Shorthand Reporter and
Notary Public in and for the State of
New Jersey

(At 10 P.M.)
a Certificate

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Street,
South Orange Avenue, West Market Street and
Street is a bli

Chairman that is not
at you to apply the same rule as
you apply to Mr. Ganzig. Mr. Ganzig talked about
of relocation. He talked about pro-
jects that are not in that ward. He talked about
the Colonnade. He talked about James Place, he
talked about Broad Street, he talked about all
these things, and they are all in a blighted area.
So I am going to stick to that area.

Now Mr. Chairman Mr. Robert Weaver that
you are going to submit this application to pointed
out that 7 out of 10 people in the United States
live in the urban areas and by 1970 the proportion
would be even greater. And as we stated here
yesterday and we state here again Newark is comprised
of 50 to 60 percent negro, and it is obvious that
by 1970 the negro population in Newark will be
closer to 70 percent.

THE SPEAKER: If you are reading from
that book submit that book into evidence

THE SPEAKER:

1 ... by the ... of this to make ...
2 clear. I have studied the book and it is not
3 ... as I go through it I will only take
4 ... portions of it which I think will ...
5 my points clear. I think we've got to broaden our
6 concept, because again you are not talking about
7 that area bounded by 12th Avenue, because Mr.
8 Banzig was not talking about that either. He
9 talked about the South Broad outlook, or at least
10 he attempted to talk about the South Broad outlook,
11 but ... did not point out a thing and I insist
12 Mr. Chairman that what we got to do is to look
13 at ... in a much broader outlook, a much
14 broader aspect, because you are not going to sit
15 here and just talk about 70 percent after what I
16 had just showed you. So what I point out - - and
17 you keep interrupting me - - where a man said 7
18 out of 10 people in the United States live in the
19 urban area and by 1970 the proportion will be even
20 greater, the relationship here in Newark and from
21 1950 to 1960 the negro population is increased to
22 over 50 percent, and perhaps closer to 60 percent.
23 Obviously by 1970 the proportion would be even
24 greater, probably be closer to 70 percent.

25 And our technology has on ...

1 produce more and more of them. I am talking about
2 manpower so that those living on farms will be
3 increasing - - and those farmers are coming here
4 to the City of Newark. Do you think I am talking
5 about a farmer in Alabama or Georgia? I am talking
6 about these farmers that are coming to the Central
7 Ward. And if you did not hear me say so, ten
8 thousand of them are coming here to Newark every
9 year. And that is what we are concerned about.
10 And I am talking about the people that are coming
11 here in town, and it is ten thousand of them coming
12 here every year that we got to deal with. And some
13 of them are going to be involved in the program
14 here in the meadow section. And the most pressing
15 problem results from this urbanism.

16 But, as a comparatively young nation
17 which finds much of its most glorious tradition and
18 unique philosophy in terms of an agricultural past
19 we often manifest a cultural hangover. Even
20 Thomas Jefferson, the champion of the common man,
21 feared the city mob so much that he wanted no large
22 urban concentrations of the population. And it must
23 be said, Mr. Chairman that some people fear the
24 urban concentration of the population. I am talking
25 about the damn ghetto. This is right

1 away what we are talking about. Thus,
2 a tendency to revel in a glorification of the
3 good old days. But, there are no good old days
4 in Newark. The white population are losing con-
5 trol of Newark. The name of the city is Newark
6 and the negroes are migrating here to the city of
7 Newark. And these are the basic facts that we've
8 got to take into consideration when you talk about
9 urban renewal, when we talk about blight, when we
10 talk about this area in here.

11 And we are of course, he points out,
12 slowly lifting this veil of doctrine as we are
13 forced to face reality. And that is what we are
14 trying to make clear here Mr. Chairman, that we
15 are trying to make you face reality.

16 And he points out, "For me it is somewhat
17 ironic that the Supreme Court, so often the pre-
18 server of the past, has recently, in its reapportion-
19 ment decisions, become the prime agency for accelera-
20 ting a realization of our urban present." What they
21 are simply saying Mr. Chairman is that we've got
22 to recognize that the presence of the urban community
23 is not what it was 20 years ago in Newark. It has
24 to be dealt with as it is today, it has to be dealt
25 with as a negro community that represents more than

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Mr. Richardson - -

MR. RICHARDSON: (Interrupting) And it is our point that we are making a parallel here and I am trying to point out Mr. Chairman,

Mr. Richardson, the point is that at this is not germane.

But don't you see what the point is? Don't you see what the point is?

You had two hours to make that point. We are going to ask you that you now be --

Don't you see what the point is?

THE CHAIRMAN: We have heard the point over and over again!

MR. RICHARDSON: We are going to continue to go over it again and again.

THE CHAIRMAN: IS THAT ALL?

PEOPLE IN THE AUDIENCE

LET FOR THE RECORD

1
2 Dr. Chairman, I believe
3 that I am entitled to the problem. That
4 starting a parallel to this situation. Now do you
5 know what I am going to say?

6 THERE IS MUCH CONTINUED SIGHTING

7 AND NOISES FROM PEOPLE IN THE ROOM

8 MR. RICHARDSON: Do you know what you
9 are doing? You are distracting -

10 THE CHAIRMAN: We are going to ask
11 that other people speak.

12 MR. RICHARDSON: The introduction -

13 (THERE IS MUCH NOISE)

14 MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman, you
15 cannot do this to me. This is germane to the
16 subject. This is a hearing in Newark, and how
17 do you know what I am going to say?

18 THE CHAIRMAN: If you want to submit
19 that book into evidence you may do so, and we will
20 read the book.

21 MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman -

22 THE CHAIRMAN: You are out of order.

23 MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman, you
24 cannot rule that I am out of order. I
25 am going to the subject. Now can you rule that I am

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THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair is ruling
that you are out of order.

MR. RICHARDSON: How can you rule that
I am out of order, I am talking germane to what
this hearing is being held for. That is not being
out of order. There is no time limit that I
could stand here and make my plea. I am presenting
a case to you.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are listening to a
brief declaration hearing and we will listen to
that. We have given you ample opportunity in two
hours to make your point.

MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman, we are
dealing with a point that takes far more than any
two hours. We are not talking about relocating
750 people. We are talking about uprooting the
whole negro community.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are out of order.

MR. RICHARDSON: You cannot sit there
and say - -

THE CHAIRMAN: I am ruling that you
are out of order now.

MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman I
appeal that ruling, because I don't understand how

1 you could tell me that I am out of order.

2 THE CHAIRMAN: I am ruling that you
3 are out of order now.

4 (AT THIS POINT THERE IS STILL MUCH
5 NOISE AND SHOUTING).

6 MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman, urba-
7 nization implies -- Mr. Chairman, how could I make
8 a point when you don't give me a chance to make a
9 point.

10 THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair's ruling is
11 that you are out of order now.

12 MR. RICHARDSON: You are ruling me
13 out of order before I make my point. You don't
14 know what my point is. I am trying to make a
15 point and you have got to give me a chance to
16 make a point. You are ruling me out of order
17 before I make my point. You don't know what it
18 is going to be.

19 THE CHAIRMAN: I have given you two
20 hours to make your point.

21 MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman, where
22 do you see that there is a time limit. You are

23
24 THE CHAIRMAN: It has to be germane
25 to the question that is before the Board.

the question.

of the importance of agriculture and a growth of industrialization. Today it occurs at a time when there is a shift from heavy, dirty production, to light clean production. It finds expression also in a significant rise in the number and proportion of the labor supply concentrated - -

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Richardson - -

MR. RICHARDSON: I am trying to make a point, Mr. Chairman, and you won't let me. - - in highly skilled professional research, clerical and service pursuits. What I am trying to point out Mr. Chairman, is that because of this urban renewal scheme, this uprooting and relocation, this musical chairs of people is preventing us from educating our children, is preventing us from making a statement of education here in Newark. It is preventing us from supplying these colored families and research professional people, and this is our part of the scheme, Mr. Chairman, and when you are relocating 60 and 70 thousand people and 20 and 30 thousand in the school system, don't tell me that that is not genuine. That is the point I am trying to make, Mr. Chairman.

1 THE CHAIRMAN: You made that point
2 before. We are going to call the next speaker
3 now.

4 (AT THIS POINT A NUMBER OF PEOPLE
5 STAND IN THE ROOM AND START SHOUTING
6 AND YELLING).

7 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Richardson, we have
8 rules you out of order.

9 MR. RICHARDSON: It is a significant
10

11 (THERE IS AGAIN MUCH NOISE AND CON-
12 FUSION).

13 THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair is going to
14 call the next speaker now. We will now hear from
15 Mr. Walker, the Director of Urban Renewal from the
16 Newark Housing Authority.

17 (THERE IS AGAIN MUCH NOISE FROM PEOPLE
18 IN THE AUDIENCE).

19 MR. RICHARDSON: Mr. Chairman,
20 *Mr. Weaver points out that there is a significant
21 decline in the demand for untrained workers - - and
22 what he is talking about is that there is a crying
23 need for the type of people coming out of our
24 school system, that you are creating by this reloca-
25 tion and by this musical chairs. But what Mr. Weaver

1 is saying is that in this process of urban re-
2 and urbanization that you are simply dumping
3 thousands and thousands of children to walk the
4 streets, frustrated and with no training, unable to
5 get a job, and this is what Mr. Weaver is telling
6 you you are doing, and don't tell me that this is
7 not germane to the problem. I am drawing a
8 parallel for you to see. In such a society we
9 face problems of land utilization and developments,
10 problems of conserving and revitalizing our exist-
11 ing areas of population concentration, and ad-
12 justments incident to the relationships between
13 human beings - -

14 THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Richardson - -

15 MR. RICHARDSON: Don't you understand
16 what he is saying? Are you going to sit there and
17 tell me that that is not germane? You don't
18 understand what I am talking about, but you are
19 saying that that is not germane. Well, that's all
20 right.

21 All of these problems arise in a new
22 milieu. (As contrasted to the relatively simple
23 life of several generations ago, urban living today
24 involves a complex of activities in which the
25 individual and the family become increasingly dependent

1 upon community action as it related to individual
2 action. Isn't you see a parallel with what is
3 happening with that wall and the ghetto of our
4 wall, this wall, this ghetto, part of this urban-
5 ization scheme, is creating a ghetto, it is building
6 in the negro community. You know what I am talking
7 about.

8 This dependence may manifest itself in
9 the need for such mundane things as garbage
10 collection, and we know it is the same type of
11 garbage collection you find in the Central Ward,
12 and once you put that wall around you won't be
13 collecting in that whole area. Or, it may find
14 expression in complicated laws and administration
15 having to do with zoning and Building Codes. And,
16 this is genuine to you, brother, so listen to it.
17 It may become operative in the provision and regula-
18 tion of parking facilities, or it may involve the
19 planning and the construction of highways and rapid
20 transit facilities. Inevitably urban living pre-
21 sents problems of education, it presents problems
22 of employment, and it presents problems of welfare,
23 which usually occasion public policy and public
24 action.

25 James Beaton recently observed that in

increased the population of the United States by
over 50 million since 1955, and as we all know the
exuberance and short-sightedness of which Boston
snobs are constantly complaining. And we project
that by the year 2000 there may be another 125 million or
so people in this nation. A population of some
250 million for the turn of the century,
and at least 35 percent of it will reside in urban
areas. And again we project that there will be a
population of over 70 percent of the population of
the United States.

By the year 2000, the portentous single
city of New York will be the city of Newark will
be the city of New York - always except-
ing the city of New York. It means, among
other things, that in 35 or 40 years we
may have to build as much housing, industrial
and highways as we have built in our pre-
vious history. And here we sit and talk about
the city of New York. We be talking about 70
thousand people. The city of New York is ver-

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next 35 years will be accommodated largely in what
 we now consider the metropolitan fringe, and in
 many cases in undeveloped or agricultural lands
 even farther removed from existing concentrations
 of population. Now, what does this mean to the
 metropolitan fringe? It means that there is no metro-
 politan fringe for us. We know East Orange, but
 we know there is no Hillside, that there is no
 West Orange, that there is really no South Orange
 that there is really no West Orange, that there is
 really no Hillside, that there is no fence for us,
 and we cannot even move back in the City of Newark
 because they keep the wall in here.

Already metropolitan growth has produced
 a variously known as 'spread city, urban
 again. The spread city is a city that is
 talking about the city. The spread city is a
 whites that are migrating to Livingston, the whites
 are migrating to the suburbs. That is
 not even a city. The spread city is a city
 genuine. The spread city is a city that is
 housing a growing population in structures which

MR. RICHARDSON:

impatient, if some of us don't worry about
some of us will become concerned that this
has gone too long, but what you simply must under-
stand Mr. Chairman is that time is running out for
the negro community, and if we permit these things
to happen to us and if we permit you to sit there
and not see what is going on then all the time in
the world is not going to help you sit in judgment,
all the time in the world is not going to help you
in judgment, and time don't mean nothing, so we
ought to take the time so that we know what is
happening to your brother. That is what we are
attempting to tell you now. And we could understand
also that some of you would become a little im-
patient. That I am tired, and I am tired, but we are not talking about
losing 7 people, 70 people or 700 people, we are
talking about disrupting the whole black community
Mr. Chairman. And that is a dangerous thing. We
are talking about perhaps destroying the whole city
of Newark, and you got to take time to listen
this.

These criticisms are familiar. There is,
however, another feature of our land use which has

1 less frequently articulated. The city
2 in the past has been to bulldoze down trees and
3 pleasant rolling land contours in a hurried effort
4 to build as quickly and often as cheaply as
5 possible. That is being done here in the City of
6 Newark, we have spent millions of dollars and we
7 have bulldozed down hundreds of acres of land, and
8 that has happened here in the City of Newark. And
9 we are talking about 70,000 people being relocated
10 and you ain't got the time to hear what is going
11 on?

12 And he points out Mr. Chairman that in
13 the midst of a certain amount of physical chaos
14 there has developed such a social uniformity as to
15 provide ammunition for pundits and philosophers.
16 That I don't know, if there is the sort of uni-
17 formity he is talking about here, I don't care if
18 there is, but we know there isn't uniformity of
19 negro removal in all of our major cities throughout
20 the nation. We know there is a uniformity throughout
21 the nations that are attempting to make negro
22 ghettos expand and contain existing ghettos.

23
24 Mr. Weaver points out that urban renewal
25 was conceived in controversy and it has matured in

1 controversy. In the process, two extreme schools
2 of thought have grown up. On the one hand, there are
3 those who can see no good in the program and would
4 do away with it. The champions of urban renewal
5 have often been equally dogmatic in its defense,
6 of all types of urban renewal programs. The most
7 extreme expression of the first point of view is
8 found in Martin Anderson's *The Federal Bulldozer*,
9 perhaps through the acquiescence of the Planning
10 Board or other officials that what the *Federal*
11 *Bulldozer* has done in the City of Newark is to
12 use 99 million dollars to turn out eight thousand
13 new dwellings.

14 Finally James Q. Wilson, Director of
15 the Joint Center for Urban Studies of M.I.T.
16 and Harvard, in an article entitled "Urban renewal
17 Does Not Always renew", has advised us that there
18 is no urban problem in the United States today
19 except perhaps for the problem of urban aesthetics.
20 He goes on to explain that he means there are no
21 problems of cities per se, and that it seems to
22 him the housing problem is also a fiction, or very
23 nearly so. Mr. Wilson writes, "When I say there is
24 no urban problem, and no housing problem, this does
25 not mean that we do not have problems in the cities.

1 and they are not problems of the housing in these
2 cities. They are the problems of the people in
3 these cities."

4 We have three major problems in our
5 cities, a poverty problem, a race problem, and a
6 cultural problem. And he goes on to explain that
7 he means culture in an anthropological and not in
8 a high-brow sense.
9

10 And he explains there is no urban
11 problem and there is no housing problem, but this
12 does not mean that we do not have problems in this
13 city. They are not problems of the cities them-
14 selves, just as the cities did not divide these
15 highways, just as the cities did not divide route
16 78 just as the cities did not divide the mid-town
17 connector. We are still faced with that problem.

18 Urban renewal is the program that was
19 designed to clean the slums of the central city
20 by giving public agencies Federal subsidies and the
21 power of eminent domain to condemn sites, to de-
22 molish buildings and to resell the cleared tracts
23 to those who would build on them in accordance with
24 a plan which was designed to reduce the number of
25 of activities were to reduce sub-standard housing, to

... can better help to get
central city middle-class white families tempted to
move away, or to pull them back from the suburbs
if they have already moved, to strengthen the tax
base of the central cities threatened by this loss
of wealthier citizens so that the cities could
provide better education and social services.
Above these specific objectives was a larger one,
the realization of the good city.

The first controversy incident to urban
renewal was over the form of the subsidy. Soon
that gave way to differences of opinion relative
to the degree to which urban redevelopment should
be concerned with shelter, or housing. The issue
had to do with the relative importance of housing,
slum clearance and redevelopment.

Also, of course, this ultimately led to
differences over the type of redevelopment, as we
have heard tonight. The mix between residential,
commercial or industrial and public construction.
Within the universe of residential construction
there were differences over the economic classes

1 my opinion, occasion much of the
2 adheres to urban renewal. Today
3 then is complicated by other issues and objectives,
4 and as I have pointed out to you before, we had to
5 point them in a broad extent, not in the sense of
6 just what is happening to those negro families in
7 the negro area, but what is happening to the entire
8 community of Newark, and particularly to the 70
9 thousand negroes that will be relocated and dis-
10 located through this urban renewal program.

11
12 Until there is some consensus about
13 the basic objectives and possible achievements of
14 urban renewal you will continue to be surrounded
15 by confusion, and as long as people refuse to
16 negotiate with and communicate with us and talk
17 with the negro community about the urban renewal
18 program, what will this committee do, develop a
19 program that they want? Not that we want to come
20 up with some plan that is something that is good
21 for you is good for the city of Newark. And until
22 then we will always have that kind of confusion
23 here in the City of Newark. The time would cer-
24 tainly be running out to us in that way.

25 The principal early advocates of an urban

1 redvelops
2 Urban Land Institute and the American Institute of
3 Planners. Their basic concern was with the physical
4 and economic development of the entire urban area.
5 As early as 1945, Alfred Bettman of the American
6 Institute of Planners set forth the position in
7 his testimony before the Taft Subcommittee on
8 Housing and Urban Redevelopment. Slums were treated
9 as but one important phase of urban blight, and
10 housing as but one form of redevelopment.

11 Urban redevelopment, in the opinion of
12 these organizations, could not be considered as
13 merely housing or housing with minor variations.
14 Redevelopment should be applied to all urban areas
15 which needed it and would include all classes of
16 land use. And we certainly are strongly in favor
17 of this, and I think the most practical thing to
18 do Mr. Chairman, would be to allocate that area
19 next to Seton Hall downtown, in the downtown area
20 where you would not have to relocate so many people
21 and make that grant for the home of the Medical
22 College.

23 There was also a strong economic argu-
24 ment for this type of urban redove
25 1961 it was set f in an article by Guy Greer

which urban renewal should be addressed, and noted that with few exceptions our American cities and towns have drifted into a situation, both physically and financially, that is becoming intolerable. Their plight however, is getting worse. And this plight area is still getting worse, and he said this about Newark, New Jersey.

This emphasis upon the physical and financial, and the movement of housing to a secondary place in the redevelopment process were repeated by Robert A. Taft. In 1945 he was Chairman of the Committee on Housing, Education and Urban Redevelopment of the Senate. He was a strong advocate of housing as a primary planning in believing that all redevelopment projects should stress housing. And here you are hearing a man who said that all redevelopment should be housing oriented.

His Subcommittee recommended that any urban redevelopment program contain a predominantly residential component and that the federal government should encourage the development of more attractive and economical patterns. Later

1
2 similarly and categorically, set forth the

3
4 areas which are predominantly residential or so
5 primarily for residential re-use.

6 This limitation, the Committee observed
7 Mr. Chairman, is fully justified in view of the
8 fact that the primary purpose of Federal aid in
9 this field is to help remove the impact of slums
10 on human lives rather than to simply assist in
11 the redevelopment or rebuilding of cities.

12 The Committee of the House on the
13 development did not give up easily. Instead they
14 continued to press their position, achieving
15 their first success in 1954 when a provision was
16 enacted permitting up to 10 percent of federal
17 grant funds to be used for projects not meeting
18 the predominantly residential requirement. In
19 1959 the percent was increased to 15 percent.
20 increased another 10 percent. Today the percentage
21 is still 30 percent. And Mr. Chairman, if we
22 closely your urban renewal program de-

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25

1 cent set forth in the federal requirements.

2 The report of the Senate Committee on
3 Banking and Currency on the Housing Act of 1961
4 indicates a real change in philosophy within that
5 body, with growing attention to the need for down-
6 town renewal it appears necessary to increase the
7 exception to provide for a greater number of pro-
8 jects of this type. The economic, institutional,
9 and cultural bases of community life are increasing-
10 ly recognized as necessary to the creation and
11 continuing existence of good homes in sound urban
12 neighborhoods. And again Mr. Chairman, in my
13 opinion this is a good philosophy. In talking
14 about the building of cultural centers in downtown
15 here in the City of Newark, where you got tens
16 of thousands of negroes living in poverty.

17 Meanwhile others, now primarily the
18 local directors of urban renewal programs, pushed
19 and are pushing for more downtown, that is, pre-
20 dominantly nonresidential redevelopment. The
21 reasons for their position include the ideological
22 concepts set forth by planners and economists a
23 decade and a half ago and the significance of
24 nonresidential redevelopment for restoring down-
25 town economic and institutional considera-

The downtown redevelopment is dramatic, when you build a new Newark. We got a new Newark located on Broad Street but we don't have a new Newark in the central ward, we don't have a new Newark in the south ward and we don't have a new Newark along Sherman Avenue, and in the east ward, and you don't have a new Newark around Oriental and Broadway in the north ward. But we have a new Newark downtown. And, it is often more quickly put into execution than a comparable predominantly residential re-use. It usually provides high tax returns to the city, it reduces controversies over the income group to be served by residential re-use, and it is instrumental in attracting support from the business and financial power structure. And that is why you have a new Newark downtown, Mr. Chairman, and why we don't have a new Newark in the negro community. Because the negro community has not been able to compete with the business and financial power structure. But we are here tonight Mr. Chairman to tell you that we are now ready and willing to compete with business and financial power structure in the building. We will not stand by and talk about a rebuilding of a

downtown or talk about a gro

Colleges, or talk about rebuilding of Rutgers University, or talk about rebuilding of Seton Hall in the residential areas. We are talking to make you think about building houses in a black community, and we are determined to compete with all power structures on this matter.

One of the most persistent issues coming out of the conflict over the emphasis and direction of urban renewal relates to the tax benefits which urban renewal generates for local government. Actually the problem is more than a matter of taxes. A major element in the decline of central cities is the erosion of their economic base. This may entail both a loss of sources of employment and a diminution of the real estate tax base. The solution of both of these problems is the principal objective of most proponents of downtown renewal, which can, and increasingly does, serve either to prevent the loss of businesses or to attract new businesses to the core areas of our cities. And I dare say this. There have been very few businesses established in the central ward, in the negro ghetto, and Mr. Chairman, how much of this has brought about the cry of black power because we have

1
2 determined to build a new Newark around downtown
3 and leave us to make a wall out of this ghetto.
4 And we have come to see that the only way we
5 could do this is by controlling these ghettos our
6 own selves, by controlling our own police precincts,
7 by controlling our own board of education, by
8 controlling our own economic businesses in these
9 areas, by controlling our own lives. This is what
10 this community urban renewal program has made us
11 come to see.

12 Mr. Weaver points out that the true
13 issue is not residential versus nonresidential,
14 nor downtown renewal versus renewal in the deter-
15 iorating gray areas between the core and the more
16 affluent fringes, but all we have to do Mr. Chair-
17 man, is to look up and down Mt. Prospect Avenue
18 and see the units that have been built between
19 the core and the more affluent fringes, and all we
20 have to do Mr. Chairman is to look up and down
21 Mt. Prospect Avenue and see the units that have
22 been built in the past several years and the con-
23 trast with what has been built in the black com-
24 munity, to show us what is wrong. And, he points
25 out the proper combination of these elements in a

pared first of people, and proper housing of residents is most important. But cities also have to have an economic base.

The elements of an economic base have changed, and you could recognize that Mr. Kaitman, there is a big change in the negro community, and a big part of this change has been in your urban renewal program and we have got thousands of youngsters today, of between 18 and 21, that cannot find jobs, that are not educated to do anything but walk the streets, and they are not educated to do anything but become cope addicts. They are not educated to do anything but to create crime and disorder, and this is what urban renewal has created for us today. And we want to get away from this concept and all we have to do is to go along with the concept of what is going here in the city of Newark.

To the goal of strengthening the economic base is added another objective of urban renewal, somewhat related to the first, although in part conflicting. It is to strengthen the cultural base of the city. Involved are theaters, music halls, colleges and universities, schools, libraries and museums. Many of these may support the

1 economic base, but so are tax and
2 then would require affluent middle-class residents
3 for support, which we don't have in the city of
4 Newark. And we must ask ourselves what comes
5 next Mr. Chairman, whether we are going to build
6 an arena, whether we are going to develop cultural
7 centers, whether we are going to develop theatres
8 and music halls and universities, or whether we are
9 going to make Newark a place where people are
10 going to live we've got to set priorities. We've
11 got to let the federal government know that they
12 have to establish priorities, and we dare not let
13 the medical school get preference and to take
14 preference over better decent homes.

15 One social benefit would flow from both
16 these emphases, the clearance of slums. Simul-
17 taneously however, a social cost occurred, dis-
18 location of the poor and the discriminated against.
19 It was to be offset by effective relocation, but
20 this was slow to come about, and by now it is
21 generally conceded that even with humane and
22 effective relocation, enforced dislocation involves
23 economic and psychological hardship. And that is
24 just putting it mildly in terms of the city of
25 Newark. This involves more than any slight economic

1
2 talking about here now is relocating 40 percent
3 of the black community. What you are talking
4 about doing is destroying a
5
6 destroying a community
7 life. What you are talking about doing is des-
8 troying the fact, and this is a part of the fact
9 and the price that you are going to pay if you
10 make the mistake of setting the wrong priority.
11 If you come to think that we need a medical school
12 before we need housing, if you come to think that
13 we need a real downtown before we need housing,
14 this is the price that we are going to have to
15 pay.

16 Just as urban renewal
17 cannot solve all the economic and tax problems of
18 our cities, neither can it be a cure-all for their
19 housing ills, and this is hard for us to accept
20 because there has been confusion on this score
21 from the beginning of the effort. But I
22 think is that we accept the fact that Mr. [redacted]
23 in the urban renewal and all the experts
24 [redacted] side housing for
25 [redacted] and you've got to dis-

1 cover a new concept to bring new people in the
2 poverty organizations, civil rights organizations,
3 church organizations, and labor organizations, and
4 let them be the sole experts on developing this
5 city, because they certainly don't have the capacity
6 to do that.

7 I want to point out that many years ago
8 some years ago, published a pamphlet on urban
9 renewal called "NO slums in 10 Years" in Washington
10 D. C., and I am sure that if you read the pamphlets
11 publicly they could be reports that 5 years ago
12 when urban renewal was started in Newark, we
13 might have conceived that there will be no slums
14 in Newark today. But it is obvious in urban
15 renewal that that has not been done. Now, not
16 only will urban renewal fail to clear all the
17 slums, but I question if we shall ever rid our
18 cities of them until we solve the economic, social,
19 and psychological ills which harass the modern
20 man and which particularly harass the negro. And
21 where you expect to stand, you gentlemen, in the
22 future, in the heart of the slum, in the heart of the
23 deprived citizens, with thousands of unemployed
24 people, with thousands of uneducated children, is

1 not going to make it. It can't be done. You
2 could only fool yourselves if you think you do.

3 It is therefore unfortunate that a
4 single program, oriented principally to a segment
5 of the physical aspects of housing, has become
6 associated with a goal which is impossible for it
7 to achieve. The sooner we divest ourselves of this
8 romantic illusion, the better we will be able to
9 assess our slum-clearance activities. Already
10 this is being realized in many places, but not
11 here in Newark. And the federal government has
12 not attempted to offer us an avenue to redevelop
13 our cities. Under the model cities program they
14 have developed a model cities program to help
15 cities like Newark develop, and to help the negro
16 community and the ghettos to help themselves to
17 become a part of this program, to become a part
18 of the redevelopment of Newark. But again we have
19 been tricked by those experts in the City Hall.
20 And again they put up to work with another plan to
21 remodel and redevelop the negro community and not
22 a damn bit of negro community had anything to say,
23
24 chance, to give the community another chance to be
25 a part of the development of this city. And these

1 are some of the things that you c
2 about.

3 But the greatest romantic illusion in
4 the discussions of slums Mr. Chairman, is not the
5 hope that they will all be cleared in the near
6 future, but the misconception that they are all
7 stable neighborhoods to which the residents have
8 strong ties. We don't mind moving Mr. Chairman,
9 if we move into some stable community, not to
10 move as many negroes move to New Avenue to buy
11 homes, only to be moved again by the mid-town
12 connector, as many negroes move from the central
13 ward to buy homes in the south ward only to be
14 moved further and further. This is not the kind
15 of urban renewal we are talking about. We don't
16 mind being moved, but we want to be moved to stable
17 communities to places where we could take an
18 interest in community problems.

19 It is generally recognized that race is
20 a principal factor in many aspects of urban
21 renewal, but it is obvious that it was recognized
22 in this case, because the negro community does not
23 want that medical college there in the central ward.
24 They want houses. So, what the city of Newark, in
25 the Housing Administration have done is nec-

recognize that race is a principal factor in a
medical college center.

James Q. Wilson, for example, identifies
the color issue as one of the three major problems
of our cities, and Charles E. Silberman has
observed that the urban problem is in large
measure a Negro problem. It is not
considered when you talk about building a medical
school, without considering the Negro. This is
not being considered when you talk about sending
people to Washington with a model city program, that
program, with which they had
nothing to do with the planning of it, had not
been consulted. We are now opening our eyes to
the fact of what is going on. This is what
this is what broke down the Government at all levels is addressing
and more to racial policy in housing and civil
rights groups as well as citizens' committees, as
we are here tonight, are bitterly engaged in
pressing for equal opportunity in housing. And
if anybody would have stopped to read this
they might have thought of what we are doing here.
Non-whites and those concerned with eradicating
poverty are clamoring more and better housing for

at the same time that
there are highly racial of racial ghetto patterns
of living.

Now, the main concern is other
housing or poverty, issues involved because of the
pervasive impact of racial & social patterns.
Proponents of school integration,
realize that their objective is frustrated by
residential patterns that are taking place in the south ward
come to the center
neighbor far and wide into the south ward, and so
that were integrated become
at urban re.
city of Newark.

Some of the trade
groups in industry are equally
in attempting to or vitiate public
for open occ. The fact that this
city does relatively nothing about enforcing
fair policy laws, or does little or nothing about
enforcing an open occupancy law is one of the
dilemmas of this state. And what
is making two laws, one for the black
white, and if that is what you are going to

1 cannot stop you; but one thing is for sure if we
2 make two Newarks, one white one negro, one white
3 in the north ward and if you make us black in the
4 central ward and in the south ward, you are not
5 going to move into both of these Newarks, you are
6 not going to move a black Newark into a white
7 Newark, so you had better make up your mind either
8 to ruling the white Newark, because we are not going
9 to be satisfied with your ruling a segregated
10 Newark and ruling us in the black ward.

11
12 Mr. Weaver points out that there are few
13 among those seriously concerned with equal oppor-
14 tunity who would not insist that all ethnic groups
15 in American society should have free access to
16 housing throughout the communities in which they
17 live. Ability to pay should be the only criterion
18 for entrance, and individual acceptance of
19 established behavior patterns should be the only
20
21 a golden opportunity here in the City of Newark,
22 Mr. Chairman, because of the passing up of our city
23 we could have really had a truly integrated Newark.
24 We could really have had a well-balanced city.
25 That is, if it was well planned. You may have well

window because nothing in it is any good other than to perpetuate two Newarks, a black Newark and a white Newark.

And it goes on to say that if there were an adequate amount of decent shelter at prices which those in the market can pay, obviously a much larger proportion of the population could find standard accommodations. That is, sound physical structures having adequate plumbing and sanitary facilities and sufficient space for the household affected. But we have long recognized that the market, as such, has not, cannot, and will not provide standard housing for a large proportion of the less fortunate. Thus governmental programs have been established to provide the needed assistance.

Questions arise as to what public policy should be followed to attain the desired results. Even more fundamental is the issue of how to finance the program. And I think we ought to ask ourselves now whether we want two Newarks. And, most who speak and act from a liberal point of view would probably assert that they want more and better housing available

30 1 to non-white, a disinvestment of resources, and
2 integrated residential patterns. But few have
3 taken the time to inquire whether or not these
4 necessarily are consistent goals. If some of
5 these goals or objectives are now competitive
6 with others, or if inflexible commitment to one
7 may delay another, which is to be selected. Do we
8 by any stretch of the imagination think that
9 bringing white professional medical students,
10 white professional medical people, into a medical
11 school, that that is going to create a white
12 integrated society? I think it is obvious that
13 we know these people are going to leave that area
14 as soon as they finish their tour of duty. So
15 that medical college is not going to create any
16 goals that are basic in integrated society.

17 And, on what basis is it to be chosen,
18 and by whom? Or, finally, is this a matter of
19 one approach versus another, or the most desirable
20 mixture of approaches? It is obvious that many
21 of these urban renewal programs have not taken any
22 consideration in the aspect of an integrated
23 Newark.

24 And, Mr. Chairman, as long as there
25 was little effective action in this sphere of

- 1 -

1 American life, such questions were academic.
2 Today when there is action and when changes are
3 occurring, the answers become extremely important.
4 If for example rapid development of stable inte-
5 grated neighborhoods will do only little to in-
6 crease the supply of decent houses for nonwhites
7 in the foreseeable future, is such action more
8 important and socially desirable than rapid
9 expansion of housing opportunities for nonwhites
10 at the cost of meaningful, as contrasted to
11 transitional, integration. On the other hand,
12 in light of the influence of upper-class
13 suburbia upon our values, can suburban patterns
14 of racial occupancy be neglected?

15 It is obvious Mr. Chairman, that the
16 location for public housing in Newark had not
17 been chosen for the idea of encouraging integration
18 and as it has been stated your urban renewal slum
19 clearance and highway construction will result
20 in negroes being more segregated in the out of
21 traffic areas of the city, which is what we are
22 talking about on this map (indicating).

23 A part of the problem is a difference of
24 opinion as to how governmental housing programs
25 operate and their impact upon racial residential

1 on renewal offers a good example
2 for, as Lyle E. Schaller, a perceptive observer of the
3 program observed, thousands of negroes think of
4 it as a synonym for negro removal while many
5 whites are thoroughly convinced that their block
6 would have remained all white if it had not been
7 for urban renewal. Integrationists contend that
8 urban renewal officials have been negligent by
9 not pushing fair housing policies while segrega-
10 tionists read the open occupancy clauses written
11 into redevelopment contracts and are convinced
12 that urban renewal is but another device developed
13 by the federal bureaucracy to break down the
14 separation of the races.

15 Public housing is criticized because it
16 does not yet have a firm policy of making certain
17 that locations are chosen to encourage integration.
18 And Whitney Young, Executive Director of the
19 National Urban League has stated that urban renewal
20 slum clearance, and highway construction will
21 result in negroes being more segregated in the
22 unattractive areas of the city.

23 Actually during the decade 1950 to 1960
24 the degree of racial residential segregation did
25 not increase. It declined slightly. In addition,

its incidence
 and lessened all
 greater political power of nonwhites in the north
 and the util
 the south as of vitiating judicial action
 that prohibits segregation in public facilities,
 especially public schools. And what they are
 saying there Mr. Chairman is, in the south, that
 through segregation of negro communities in the
 neighborhood they maintain segregated schools
 and segregated public facilities. And that is
 what we are doing here in Newark gentlemen, by
 maintaining a negro ghetto, by maintaining t
 two Newarks, and what is being done is
 perpetuating seg
 segregated many schools systems in Mississippi
 and Alabama.

During the ten years from 1950 to 1960
 over-all progress towards open occupancy was slight,
 and my observations -- this is Mr. Weaver talking
 -- would lead me to believe that although it has
 been accelerated since 1960, the amount of inter-
 racial housing has remained quantitatively small.
 Yet there are unmistakable evidences of changing
 patterns and changing attitudes towards nonwhite

1 neighbors. The situation is not static and, as
2 in many aspects of race relations, statistical
3 averages and index numbers do not reflect the

4
5 Not only has there been a liberalization
6 of attitude toward open occupancy but significant
7 institutional developments have occurred. But
8 of course he is talking about the national level,
9 and not in Newark. We are concerned about a
10 large number of places in this city, that we are
11 concerned about, integrated housing. And I point
12 out the number of fair housing groups that have
13 sprung up here, particularly in the suburbs and
14 maintain that we need fair housing here in the
15 city of Newark.

16 They point out that concurrently, keenly
17 conscious of their housing deprivations, press to
18 remove them. Thus there is, within the negro
19 community, growing pressure for relief, and the
20 riots in negro ghettos during the summer of 1964
21 were unmistakable expressions that tempers had
22 grown short. And this is no black man talking,
23 this is no civil rights advocate, this is no
24 fanatical, this is Mr. Robert Weaver saying that
25 is what brought about these riots in 1964, and that

They were an unmistakable expression that [REDACTED] had grown short. I think that we ought to observe that that was in 1964. I think it would be wise to observe that in 1967 that the trowsers have grown shorter yet in the city of Newark. He goes on to point out that all of the efforts which improve the status of low-income Americans will also affect racial housing problems. As the anti-poverty program succeeds, an increasing number of nonwhites not only will have more money to spend but will develop even greater dissatisfaction with their present shelter and neighborhoods. Again Mr. Chairman we have seen the city of Newark missing another [REDACTED].

In such a setting, it is not enough to report that attitudes and patterns are changing. For men and women who are living under intolerable conditions such changes seem remote. [REDACTED] action, and for that action is significant only if it upgrades their own housing. And this is what we mean gentlemen when we say we need housing and not another medical school. And what I just have said to you does not come from men who are in opposition to a medical school and this again came from the words of Mr. Weaver.

1 Realization of
2 of living will have immediate impact primarily
3 upon those nonwhites who are more affluent. Such
4 a development might have offered hope for all
5 nonwhites had it happened a generation ago. Today the
6 tempo in civil rights is such that these relaxa-
7 tions in the color line, as important as they may
8 be over the long run, do little to reduce the
9 social pressures in the ghettos.

10 There is a new realization in many parts
11 of American society that existing racial housing
12 patterns throughout the urban complex are crucial.
13 Bernard Weissbourd, president of Chicago's
14 Metropolitan Structures and a large-scale builder
15 and redeveloper, writing for the Center for the
16 Study of Democratic Institutions aptly stated,
17 "Present segregation practices are a serious
18 obstacle. At the same time they provide an
19 additional reason why a program designed to create
20 heterogeneous communities both within the city and
21 beyond the suburbs has become imperative. The
22 question of segregation is always present when the
23 character and location of public housing and urban
24 renewal projects are being determined. An un-
25 willingness to face up to it has paralyzed city

planning. It is necessary to ask the question not only for the sake of civil rights for everyone but also for the sake of the community. The community is vulnerable almost everything about housing in our cities. The community is the one public activity which has high standards for relocation, and it is now enforcing them. It is the one public program which is heavily criticized for its relocation activities, largely in terms of their impact upon minorities.

Proponents of racial integration in housing oppose slum clearance and the demolition of existing structures; but rehabilitation tends to perpetuate existing residential patterns. Some of these who oppose slum clearance and the housing built in the past, and the housing built in the past, still, in cities with large non-white populations such housing usually locates non-white, or exclusively nonwhite.

In an effort to break down racial concentrations some groups have been moving into integrated neighborhoods. Unfortunately, Mr. Chairman, there are few provisions made to relocate

the negro into an integrated society. W
from our experiences that this relocation is
going to enlarge the negro ghetto. It is only
going to further overcrowd us and our schools.

The location of housing is perhaps the
most crucial single factor in its racial occupancy.
If new residential construction or rehabilitation
is carried out in a site which is an integral part
of nonwhite concentration, the occupancy usually
becomes either exclusively or almost exclusively
nonwhite. The one general exception occurs where
an entire neighborhood is cleared and a new and
higher income group is housed there.

These circumstances have led to the
current pressure from civil rights and associated
groups to secure locations for public housing
beyond the boundaries of existing nonwhite
neighborhoods. Now, several problems emerge.

The first problem is a reflection of
both class and racial attitudes. Regardless of
color, the residents of middle-income neighborhoods
generally oppose the location of public housing
projects in their midst. In addition, white
neighborhoods of all income composition usually
oppose such projects on the basis of racial concerns.

1 isolating largely two
2 groups and reflecting the racial exclusiveness of
3 suburbia, most residents of white areas oppose
4 public housing primarily because they fear nonwhite
5 invasion. And all of this is complicated by the
6 fact that because of the very racist attitudes
7 that have led to residential segregation, public
8 housing projects having a policy of open occupancy
9 frequently become predominantly, or exclusively,
10 nonwhite. In small communities with limited non-
11 white populations, or in developments removed from
12 concentrations of nonwhites, this need not occur.
13 Where it does happen, however, it, in turn,
14 accentuates the fears delineated above.

15 Selection of sites for public housing
16 is primarily a local responsibility, but the
17 Public Housing Administration now lists promotion
18 of racially democratic housing patterns as one
19 criterion. This is sometimes effective; it does
20 not however, guarantee locations which will
21 facilitate mixed racial patterns. Though the
22 federal government can refuse to approve a site,
23 it cannot take the initiative and select one.

24 Situations increasingly arise where a
25 locality will approve for public housing only sites

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now occupied by no sites or in areas undergoing racial transition. The choice for local groups concerned with housing for low-income and non-white families is often between (1) public housing that will be primarily nonwhite and (2) only a small amount of new low-income public housing.

The selection of vacant sites is, of course, desirable from many points of view. It avoids dislocation, it provides a net expansion in the supply of low-rent accommodations, it relieves the pressures of a growing nonwhite population upon existing supply of housing as was noted above. But, since public housing is initiated by local governments there are slight prospects of its being constructed in the suburbs. Within the central city the supply of vacant land is often restricted, and most that exists is so located as to assure strong opposition to public housing. Yet sound housing policy would dictate use of vacant sites, or those that are appropriate for residential redevelopment but now in other uses.

And they point out Mr. Chairman that the resolving of issues about sites for public housing brings to the surface differences in outlook between the more affluent nonwhites and the less

they cannot afford the luxury of pressing for integration. Public housing outside, but not far removed from nonwhite concentration becomes increasingly occupied by nonwhites, as it frequently is in the case of public housing, but the supply of public housing is limited. The supply of public housing available to low-income nonwhites is augmented. As a result, the supply of public housing is increased, but the demand for it is also increased, and the result is a shortage of public housing today which will assure stable interracial occupancy. Thus the dilemma.

Mr. Weaver went on further to say, "I have noted above that when the advent of nonwhite residents accelerates abandonment of an area by whites, the cause of residential integration is set back. To meet this issue voluntary groups are sometimes formed to discourage panic in selling and abandonment of established neighborhoods by white residents; and such action presents no dilemmas. But there are a few people who would restrain rather than merely discourage the movement of whites.

This of course is in concern for maximum freedom of choice in selecting a place to live. And, unfortunately, it would frequently serve to delay the expansion of housing available to nonwhites. For under current patterns of racially homogeneous neighborhoods, the principal method used by nonwhites to augment the supply of shelter available to them is to succeed or displace whites. The only effective way to discourage panic selling and rapid racial succession in neighborhoods is to secure de facto open occupancy in a wide sector of the housing market. When that is achieved, all will be able to move freely but the exercise of this choice will not assure residence in a permanently ethnically homogeneous neighborhood. The only way to achieve this is by the development of public housing. The performance as "Negro clearance," has recently made some significant contributions toward desirable sites for public housing. Many of these have been so redeveloped as to encourage biracial occupancy.

The reason why the most stable biracial

1 neighborhoods are those of upper-in
2 that the possibility of nonwhite inundation is less
3 real, reflecting the relative paucity of higher-
4 income nonwhites in most cities. And they point
5 out unquestionably stable interracial neighborhoods
6 have emerged and they point out the cities, and
7 obviously this was done some years ago, and certain
8 portions of the south ward is certainly a favorite
9 interracial neighborhood.

10 The basic urban dilemma of income and
11 race has always been mentioned. It is a choice
12 between housing a large number of nonwhites in
13 low-rent accommodations, housing a somewhat smaller
14 number in moderate-income housing and housing a
15 much smaller number in high-income structures.
16 This dilemma is most sharply presented when deci-
17 sions are being made relative to the income dis-
18 tribution to be achieved in the redevelopment of an
19 urban renewal area, although it exists also when
20 construction occurs elsewhere. There is, of course,
21 an option of some of each type of housing, but
22 it is seldom considered by those who engage in this
23 colloquy. Because the degree and the potential
24 stability of racial mixture varies, in any one site,
25 inversely with the level of income served by re-

1 development, the choice, again, frequently opt
2 to be between racial integration and the a
3 tion of new housing available to nonwhites. This
4 issue presents itself in several forms.

5 In a Midwestern city where a vast urban
6 renewal project is largely completed, and where
7 half of the newly constructed 3,700 dwelling units
8 are occupied by nonwhites, there was a question
9 about income groups to be served by the future
10 construction on the remaining undeveloped land.
11 Originally it was proposed that over half the
12 additional new units should be for moderate-income
13 households. The redevelopers of somewhat higher-
14 rent housing now in occupancy wanted a lower
15 proportion of moderate-income housing and a larger
16 proportion of higher-income accommodations. The
17 Negro community was split, with most preferring the
18 maximum degree of moderate-income housing. Civil
19 rights groups and liberals were more sharply split.

20 There was no question that in proportion
21 as a larger amount of moderate-income housing was
22 provided, the degree of nonwhite occupancy would
23 increase. Some feared that it might become so
24 pronounced as to endanger the stability of the
25 existing interracial pattern. At the same time,

1 many who live in the vicinity of the renewal
2 area still believe that since it was originally
3 a Negro slum, the proportion of nonwhites rehoused
4 should be significantly larger than it has been
5 to date.

6 After such discussion and the considera-
7 tion of a number of proposals, the city council
8 finally approved the sale of thirty acres in the
9 urban renewal areas. The redeveloper will con-
10 struct over 1,100 dwelling units in high-rise
11 apartments and town houses. Up until the final
12 action of the city council, the economic mix of
13 the redevelopment remained fluid. At the end
14 there was a relaxation from the previous require-
15 ment of 55 percent moderate-income accommodations;
16 the contract with the developer specified no more
17 than 40 percent and no less than 20 percent of
18 such housing.

19 This apparent imbalance was partially
20 offset by the plans for moderate-income construc-
21 tion elsewhere in the area of nonwhite concentra-
22 tions. By June, 1965 some 1,200 units of
23 221(d)(3) housing was completed, under construction
24 or planned for this section of the city.

25 In a somewhat smaller city in the East

1 a different manifestation of the same problem
2 has arisen. As in the Mid-western community, the
3 renewal area was previously a negro slum. Original
4 plans envisioned redevelopment for high-income
5 occupancy. This occasioned a storm of protest
6 on the part of civil rights groups. Further
7 analysis indicated that there would not be a
8 market for high-income housing and plans were
9 revised.

10 At this point there was a split between
11 the protesting groups. One wanted moderate-
12 income redevelopment on the grounds that it would
13 provide housing within the reach of many nonwhites
14 while lending itself to integration. Another
15 group championed public housing because it would
16 not occasion economic dislocation of the area.

17 It was decided to achieve economically
18 diversified housing, with concentration upon
19 moderate-income accommodations. But the contro-
20 versy continued to rage. The organization and
21 the individuals who supported the decision took
22 the position that it would not only provide a
23 significant volume of housing for nonwhites but also
24 create a stable interracial neighborhood. They
25 said that if nothing but public housing was built,

1 the result would be an economic and ethnic ghetto.
2 Also, they feared that it would be difficult to
3 market integrated housing on the site of a former
4 negro slum if a large volume of low-income housing
5 were provided there.

6 The champions of public housing re-
7 development claimed that it was only equitable that
8 the same people who previously lived in the area
9 should move back into it. When they were told
10 that, on the basis of past experience, only a few
11 of the displaced would seek shelter there, they
12 replied that the adverse impact of urban renewal
13 had been concentrated upon poor negroes and that
14 this same group suffering from a lack of decent
15 housing, should benefit directly from the redevelop-
16 ment. They added that relocation would only
17 aggravate the shelter deprivation of this class,
18 immediately reducing the supply of low-income housing
19 in the city.

20 There were some interesting fringe
21 benefits incident to the controversy. Relocation
22 will take place in stages. Redevelopment on the
23 site will include an economically diversified range
24 of housing, within the means of displaced families.
25 Relocation planning now calls for short-term

property improvements within the project area to serve better thousands of those who reside there during most of the relocation period. During this interim a community center will be provided for their use, and it will offer extensive social services, including a number of programs typical of the antipoverty campaign.

One could describe many other cases in which there appears to be a choice between augmenting to the maximum degree the supply of housing for nonwhites and obtaining less housing for them while fostering integration.

Related decisions must be faced outside urban renewal areas. For some time public housing has been under attack. Much of the criticism is somewhat similar to the disenchantment with urban renewal; the program failed to realize the high hopes and promises of its earlier proponents. This has generated great disillusionment, and disillusionment usually leads to condemnation. The truth is that, with all its limitations, public housing has significantly upgraded the shelter of almost 600,000 American families, half of which are nonwhite. It has also perpetuated economic ghettos and developed a poor image in some localities.

1 In an effort to offset both of
2 weaknesses, many propose mixing public and moderate
3 income housing. This has a surface appeal, seeming
4 to provide the best of both worlds, that is, an
5 increase in low-income housing and at the same time
6 the provision of racially integrated neighborhoods.
7 Indeed, there is a slowly growing number of
8 successful combinations of this type and they may
9 provide an arrangement which will be a viable
10 answer in many areas of the central cities. This
11 is always a real possibility in sites which are
12 well located, such as the West Side of Manhattan
13 or the Western Addition in San Francisco.

14 Yet there are dilemmas here too. They
15 cannot be wished away, and they may as well be
16 understood. In those localities where there is
17 the fear and possibility of nonwhite inundation,
18 the public housing sector in such a development
19 could easily become all nonwhite, creating a
20 pattern that might spread to the moderate-income
21 accommodations as well. In many areas and in
22 many sites, serious difficulties arise in marketing
23 an interracial moderate-income development. If
24 such a development is confused or identified with
25 public housing, these difficulties can be aggravated.

1 Thus, in an effort to achieve two laud-
2 able objectives, low-income and moderate-income
3 housing on the one hand and integration on the
4 other, there is the danger that neither will be
5 accomplished. Outside urban renewal areas as well
6 as in them, zoning relaxations and public acquisi-
7 tion of land for housing occur only after local
8 public hearings. One of the questions asked at
9 these hearings is the type of construction or
10 redevelopment that is envisioned. In many cities,
11 neither zoning adjustments nor utilization of
12 eminent domain will be approved if the re-use is
13 to include public housing. Thus its proposed
14 mixture with moderate-income housing may defeat
15 attempts to construct either.

16 In certain cities negro housing is a
17 most profitable investment. Some individuals and
18 firms operate as many as 500 units each. This
19 large scale ownership contrasts with the ineffectual
20 bargaining power of poor negro tenants and per-
21 petuates possibilities of economic exploitation.
22 Federally assisted moderate-income housing is a
23 real threat to the slumlords, and they recognize it.
24 In one state they are said to have exchanged informa-
25 tion from city to city; to have discussing strategy

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3 can be a real benefit to nonwhites and to
4 the upgrading of the city.
5 affected cities. The author of the
6 book, however, states the same point of view
7 in a different way. He says that the
8 argument in favor of moderate-income housing
9 starts from the premise that cities need to manu-
10 facture a middle class. Moderate-income housing
11 is consistent with the true aims of the city,
12 according to this concept. Actually, these ideas
13 are those of the author, who accept this point of view
14 and go beyond housing. "It's doubtful," he
15 writes, "whether any simple, dramatic approach can
16 solve the negro housing problem. So long as the
17 great majority of negroes have slum incomes, they
18 are going to live in slums. In the long run,
19 therefore, the only way to solve the problem of
20 negro housing is to solve the problem of negro
21 people - - to raise the economic and social level
22 of the negro community."

23 The increasing importance of rehabilita-
24 tion in the negro community is discussed in the
25 closing chapter. The initial reaction to this
has been generally favorable on the part of those

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no removal. There is a question as to how long it will be popular with those whose principal concern is intercession.

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by its very nature rehabilitation that in the sense that it avoids residents out of the area, tends to replicate existing patterns of living. This means that although it would minimize the displacement of nonwhites from localities where they now live, it would contribute little to their entering new areas. But it would vastly upgrade and improve their present environment. It is also true that avoiding negro clearance would do little progress toward integration. Actually, much more is involved. Real and serious issues of political power and questions of business must be considered as well. And I think it has become obvious Mr. Chairman that if we look at this wall being built around the negro ghetto that there is actually no hope for the

And Mr. [redacted] there is a prevalent attitude among negro politicians that efforts to destroy the ghetto are designed in part at least to dilute the political power of nonwhites. It

62 1 to be that this is of limited validity. In
2 city-wide or state-wide elections such concentration
3 are made. In fact, and in precinct or other smaller
4 area-based contests, nonwhites would have greater
5 political power if so distributed as to be deciding
6 such contests rather than being
7 the totality in one contest. However, the fact
8 that such opinion exists creates a vested interest
9 in preserving existing neighborhoods on the other
10 hand, there is great validity in opposing minority
11 group displacement on the grounds that it uproots
12 and often destroys nonwhite businesses. There are
13 usually small, somewhat marginal establishments,
14 catering to a market peculiar to their location.
15 Relocation is always difficult for them and often
16 impossible.

17 wide-scale rehabilitation under urban
18 renewal requires a significant degree of neighbor-
19 hood citizen participation and the population
20 involved is, for the most part, the same before
21 and after the activity. And this making a joke
22 of the urban renewal procedure or practices were
23 in Newark, because by no stretch of the imagination
24 it really contains the neighborhood or citizen
25 participation, it really is an integral part in

planning this urban renewal.

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It goes on to say that thus rehabilitation can occasion controversy over racial patterns.

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Hyde Park area of Chicago,

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which involved much "spot rehabilita-

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tion' was criticized because it had failed to

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rehouse a large

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percentage.

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There is no detailed analysis Mr.

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Chairman to demonstrate that in our urban center

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the white population is growing, now

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mainly because of natural increase rather than

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immigration, adequate housing for minorities can be

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obtained only by expanding the space they occupy.

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Additional pressures are generated by new highway

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construction

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and additional locally sponsored programs which displace

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nonwhites.

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And here we see two or really three

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new highways coming down in the city of Newark,

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mainly in negro communities, mainly dislocating

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and uprooting negro communities. So Mr. Chairman,

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the importance of this hearing is not solely, is not

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solely what happens to the 730 people of various

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1 medical school sites, but the basic and primary
2 concern of this hearing must be the concern of
3 what is happening to urban renewal and the re-
4 sponsibilities of this Planning Board in relation-
5 ship to the total problem of what is happening
6 here in the city of Newark. Now, it is suggested
7 that you will not be a part of this dislocation
8 and this destruction of 70 thousand people and I
9 would suggest that as honorable men you would not
10 be a part of the destruction of family life in
11 the community and I would suggest as honorable
12 men, you would not be a part of the destruction
13 here of the public educational system. I would
14 suggest that you would not be a part of perpetuating
15 a ghetto in the city of Newark. And I would
16 suggest gentlemen, that you would not be a part
17 of, or no part of, developing in this city of
18 ours two Newarks. Because that is what would
19 happen today gentlemen, whether you like it or
20 not. You are not talking about 730 families,
21 you are not here merely talking about the medical
22 site, you are talking about whether we are going
23 to have a black Newark, and a white Newark.
24 Because the urban renewal program is complicated
25 by the Newark Housing Authority, as Mr. Danzig

pointed out. We will not only perpetuate two
Newarks, but at the same time we are going to
wall off the black part of Newark. And we have
got to broaden our concept, we've got to open
our minds. You are going in to hear some new
idea. And you are going to have some new idea
and some new concept of Newark, because we are
not only concerned about those people in the
medical school center, we are concerned about
all of Newark, the black Newark and the white
Newark. And what we are standing here doing
tonight is not only for the benefit of the black
Newark but for the benefit of all of Newark. And
I hope that you will recognize this.

There is one certain key that I did not
go into because I don't have the statistics on it,
but it relates to the problem of the displacement
of a certain segment of the black community, and
I believe that Mr. Earl Harris has done some
research on that in relation to that type of urban
renewal, and at this time I would like to yield
my place to Mr. Earl Harris.

66 1 (AT THIS POINT MR. EARL HARRIS COMES
2 FORWARD)

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4
5 THE CHAIRMAN: The chair has an
6 announcement to make. This meeting will be
7 adjourned, and it will be continued until
8 tomorrow morning at 10:00 A.M. in this Council
9 Chamber.

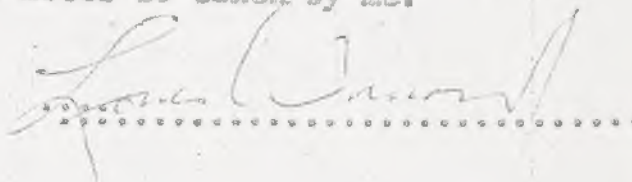
10 MR. HARRIS: I would like to state
11 this for the record. In view of the fact that
12 you are calling this meeting tomorrow morning,
13 when you know full well that these people work
14 for a living and they cannot afford to take the
15 day off from their jobs, this again shows the
16 attitude of this Planning Board here in the City
17 Hall, and I must say that we are going to Washington
18 Mr. Chairman, we are going to protest this in
19 Washington, we are going to take this to the
20 Federal Court, Mr. Chairman, because there have
21 been violations here tonight. Now, I don't think
22 in all fairness for the residents of this city of
23 Newark that this meeting should be held - - you
24 cut me off.

25 (AT THIS POINT 12:10 o'clock in the

morning the microphone is disconnected and the
Public hearing is adjourned.

I, LOUIS WINARD, a Certified Shorthand

Reporter of New Jersey do hereby certify that I did
take the stenographic notes in the foregoing matter
and that this is a true and an accurate transcript
of the stenographic notes so taken by me.



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